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ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ

PLUTARCH'S

vitae parallelae (Lives)

LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES

WITH INTRODUCTION NOTES AND INDEXES

EDITED FOR

THE SYNDICS OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

BY THE

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καὶ δή ποτε καὶ ἐνεθυμήθην, τί ποτε τοὺς τότ' ἀνθρώπους ἀκούοντας αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ταῦτα πάσχειν εἰκὸς ἦν. ὅπου γὰρ ἡμεῖς οἱ τοσοῦτον ἀπηρτημένοι τοῖς χρόνοις καὶ οὐθὲν πρὸς τὰ πράγματα πεπονθότες οὕτως ὑπαγόμεθα καὶ κρατούμεθα καὶ ὅποι ποτ' ἂν ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος ἄγῃ πορευόμεθα, πῶς τότε Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἤγοντο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀληθινῶν τε καὶ ἰδίων ἀγώνων, αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἐκείνου τὰ ἑαυτοῦ μετὰ τῆς ἀξιώσεως, ἧς εἶχε, τὴν αὐτοπάθειαν καὶ τὸ παράστημα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποδεικνυμένου, κοσμοῦντος ἅπαντα καὶ χρηματίζοντος τῇ πρεπούσῃ ὑποκρίσει ἧς δεινότατος ἀσκητὴς ἐγένετο....ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἰδεῖν ἔστι τῶν λόγων οὓς οὐκ ἔνι τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐν ἡδονῇ ὡς ἀνάγνωσμα διελθεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ διδάσκουσι πῶς αὐτοὺς ὑποκρίνεσθαι δεῖ, νῦν μὲν εἰρωνευόμενον νῦν δ' ἀγανακτοῦντα νῦν δὲ νεμεσῶντα, δεδιττόμενον αὖ καὶ θεραπεύοντα καὶ νουθετοῦντα καὶ παρορμῶντα καὶ πάνθ', ἃ βούλεται ποῖειν ἡ λέξις, ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐπὶ τῆς προφορᾶς.

DIONYSIUS

PREFACE

ALTHOUGH there are ampler materials at our disposal for a history of the Demosthenic age than for any other period of Greek history, no connected or original record of it has come down to us from antiquity. No great ancient historian has survived to rescue from oblivion the name and fame of the greatest orator that ever lived, whose invincible energy and fervid devotion in the cause of Hellenic independence deserved a worthy chronicler. Indeed, nothing but meagre fragments survive of the writings which concern the period of Philip of Macedon (Theopompus, Philochorus, Duris), or tradition at second (Diodorus Siculus), or at third (Justin), hand.

The criticisms of Dionysius, the great rhetorician of Halicarnassus, are most valuable in their way, but the part of his principal work—ὑπομνηματισμοὶ περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων or 'Memoirs of the ancient orators'—which bears on Demosthenes is unfortunately mutilated. Biographers he has had, but they are all more or less uncritical. Plutarch, of course, takes the lead amongst these, and his work is interesting and of importance as a compilation from or reproduction of writers long since lost to us. From his own point of view, as set forth in his Introduction to the *Life of Alexander*, and for the ethical purpose which is the predominant feature in

his *Parallel Lives*, it may be considered as fairly complete, although his lack of the critical faculty has led him into occasional inconsistencies, and he has let his judgment be warped by the calumnious gossip and malignant representations which survived his hero, and the true lineaments of his subject have been consequently distorted, although he was actuated himself by an honest and sincere desire to give a faithful portrait—*εἰκόνα τὴν τὸ ἦθος καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐμφανίζουσαν* (*Cim.* c. 2, 2).

Plutarch's *Life of Demosthenes* cannot fail to inspire interest, whatever its shortcomings may be, and I am not without hopes that the present edition of it will be found by teachers and learners alike an useful as well as a novel addition to the text-books available for the study of the Greek language.

The bulk of my Commentary was written three or four years ago, and then laid aside for other literary labour which demanded more immediate attention. I trust that a severe revision of my former work will have cleared away most of the slips and inaccuracies, to which even the most conscientious editors are liable.

The first and perhaps best separate edition was published at Oxford in 1744 by Philip Barton, Fellow of New College, and I am under obligations to this as well as to the editions of Graux and Büchsenschütz; but I owe most to the great work of Arnold Schäfer—the store-house of all that is known of the Philippic age—combining as it does and adding much to the results of the researches and labours, both critical and exegetical, of the principal Demosthenic scholars.

My text is based upon the MSS collated by or for Sintenis, all of a late date, and also upon two others not used by him, viz. the Vatican and the Harleian in the

British Museum. A collation of the latter has not hitherto been published, as far as I know. (See on these MSS the remarks p. 138 f.) The Madrid MS which was brought to light by C. Graux has yielded some few good variants which I have adopted, but I agree with Mr A. Gudeman, Lecturer on Classical Philology in The Johns Hopkins University U. S., in thinking that the eminent French scholar greatly overrated its importance.

I had prepared a complete *index graecitatis*, but, in deference to the wish of my publishers, have carefully compressed it, so as to retain only the more noticeable expressions.

ATHENAEUM CLUB
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INTRODUCTION

On the Sources of information for the Life of Demosthenes *accessible to Plutarch*

PLUTARCH tells Sosius Senecio, to whom the *Biography* is dedicated, that it is based upon books which he had read and upon oral tradition[1]. It is not easy to determine how much he owed to hearsay, except the story about the subterranean chamber[2] which was exhibited, when he was at Athens, as that of Demosthenes; the interpretation of the word Thermodon[3] in the Sibylline prophecy; and the anecdote about the soldier and the great orator's statue[4]. For the rest, he mentions more than twenty writers as authorities of which he availed himself either directly or through some intermediary source. In the first place the orators—Demosthenes[5] himself, whom, however, he only once expressly acknowledges as a source of information[6]; then Aeschines[7], and perhaps Dinarchus[8]. There are also reminiscences of Hypereides[9]. Among the orators may be included also Demochares[10], the nephew of Demosthenes, though he is better known as a historian.

Of the historiographers mentioned by Plutarch some

[1] c. 30, 4. [2] c. 7, 3. [3] c. 19, 2. [4] c. 31, 1.
[5] c. 4, 2; c. 9, 1, 5; c. 12, 1; c. 17, 1, 3 etc. [6] c. 12, 1.
[7] c. 4, 1; c. 9, 5; c. 12, 4; c. 16, 1; c. 17, 2; c. 20, 1; c. 22, 2 etc.
[8] The phrase ὁμόσε χωρῶν c. 26, 1 seems to be borrowed from Dinarchus.
[9] c. 12, 4. See note *ad l.*; also c. 25.
[10] See note to c. 30, 4.

were not far removed from the time of Demosthenes; first and foremost among them is his contemporary, the most distinguished pupil of Isocrates, Theopompus[11] of Chios, a man of learning and ability, whose voluminous work, *τὰ Φιλιππικά* (or *Ἱστορία*, as it was called *κατ᾽ ἐξοχήν*) in 58 Books, covered a period of 24 years, B.C. 359—B.C. 336[12]. Not much more than a fourth of the entire book was taken up with the professed subject; the remainder consisted of digressions[13] embracing allegorical stories and a variety of other superfluous topics beside all the contemporaneous history. The work was revised and compressed into 16 books by Philip III. Theopompus was a violent political partisan and showed great rancour and spite in persistently assailing Greek democracies and their failings. He belonged to the aristocratic faction of Chios and lived for a long time in exile on account of his father's laconism, until he was restored at the instance of Alexander in B.C. 333. His fondness for fault-finding and exaggeration, which almost

[11] Müller *FHG* I lxv 258, Blass *Att. Bereds.* II pp. 400—427. The other work of Theopompus was his *σύνταξις Ἑλληνικῶν*, a continuation of Thucydides' history of the Peloponnesian war (Diod. XIII 42, XIV 84, Polyb. VIII c. 13, 3 ff), in XII Books, comprising a period of seventeen years from the battle of Cynossema B.C. 411 to that of Cnidus B.C. 394. This was the work made use of by Plutarch in his *Life* of Lysander and that of Agesilaus.

[12] It was from this work that Trogus Pompeius borrowed the plan and title of his work, known to us only in the abridgment of Justinus.

[13] Dionys. Hal. *Ep. ad Cn. Pomp.* c. 6 *ἔστι δ᾽ ἃ καὶ κατὰ τὸν πραγματικὸν τόπον ἁμαρτάνει καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὰς παρεκβολάς· οὔτε γὰρ ἀναγκαῖαί τινες αὐτῶν οὔτ᾽ ἐν καιρῷ γιγνόμεναι, πολὺ δὲ τὸ παιδιῶδες ἐμφαίνουσαι*, Athenae. XI 508 c, Theon. *Progymn.* p. 44 *δύο γάρ που καὶ τρεῖς, καὶ πλείους ἱστορίας ὅλας κατὰ παρέκβασιν εὑρήσομεν ἐν αἷς οὐχ ὅπως Φιλίππου ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ Μακεδόνος οὐδενὸς ὄνομά ἐστιν*, ib. p. 80 *παραιτητέον δὲ καὶ τὸ παρεκβάσεις ἐπεμβάλλεσθαι μεταξὺ διηγήσεως μακράς· οὐ γὰρ ἁπλῶς χρὴ πᾶσαν παραιτεῖσθαι—ἀλλὰ τὴν τηλικαύτην τὸ μῆκος ἥτις ἀπαλλοτριοῖ τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ἀκροωμένων*. One of these digressions contained an account of the Athenian *δημαγωγοί* from the Persian War downwards (Themistocles, Cimon, Eubulus, Callistratus, Cleon, Hyperbolus).

came up to that of Timaeus, is noticed also in this *Life*[14] as in other *Lives* of Plutarch; but, in spite of its defects, the loss of the Φιλιππικά is one of the most regrettable of the many records of antiquity which have perished on their way to us. It would have shown us the age of Philip, as it appeared to an acute and disinterested contemporary.

Duris of Samos[15], a pupil of Theophrastus (Athenae. IV p. 128a, VIII p. 337a), was born in exile Ol. 109 or

[14] c. 13, 6; c. 18, 3; c. 21, 2; *Lys.* c. 30, 2 Θεόπομπος ᾧ μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦντι πιστεύσειεν ἄν τις ἢ ψέγοντι· ψέγει γὰρ ἥδιον ἢ ἐπαινεῖ. Cp. Lucian *de hist. conscr.* c. 59 κατηγορεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ ἱστορεῖ τὰ πεπραγμένα, Polyb. VIII 12 ταύτην τήν τε πικρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀθυρογλωττίαν τοῦ συγγραφέως τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀποδοκιμάσειεν; οὐ γὰρ μόνον ὅτι μαχόμενα λέγει πρὸς τὴν αὑτοῦ πρόθεσιν ἄξιός ἐστιν ἐπιτιμήσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ διότι κατέψευσται τοῦ τε βασιλέως καὶ τῶν φίλων, καὶ μάλιστα διότι τὸ ψεῦδος αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἀπρεπῶς διατέθειται, Athenae. VI 254 b ὁ δυσμενέστατος Θεόπομπος (but in III 85 a the same writer speaks of him as ἀνὴρ φιλαλήθης). On the other hand Dionysius (*Ep. ad Cn. Pomp.* c. 6), the most judicious of ancient critics, praises him and vindicates his character as an historian in strong language:—ὅσα φιλοσοφεῖ παρ' ὅλην τὴν <ἱστορίαν περὶ> δικαιοσύνης καὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς διεξερχόμενος λόγους. Τελευταῖόν ἐστι τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ καὶ χαρακτηριστικώτατον......τὸ καθ' ἑκάστην πρᾶξιν μὴ μόνον τὰ φανερὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁρᾶν καὶ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐξετάζειν καὶ τὰς ἀφανεῖς αἰτίας τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν πραξάντων αὖ τὰς <διανοίας> καὶ τὰ πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς ἃ μὴ ῥᾴδια τοῖς πολλοῖς εἰδέναι· καὶ πάντ' ἐκκαλύπτειν τὰ μυστήρια τῆς τε δοκούσης ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς ἀγνοουμένης κακίας. Καί μοι δοκεῖ ὡς ὁ μυθευόμενος εἶναι τῶν ψυχῶν ἀπολυθεισῶν τοῦ σώματος ἐξετασμὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ δικαστῶν, οὕτως ἀκριβὴς εἶναι ὁ διὰ τῆς Θεοπόμπου γραφῆς γιγνόμενος. διὸ καὶ βάσκανος ἔδοξεν εἶναι, προσλαμβάνων τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ὀνειδισμοῖς καὶ ἄττα τῶν ἐνδόξων προσώπων οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα κατηγορήματα· ὅμοιόν τι ποιῶν τοῖς ἰατροῖς οἳ τέμνουσι καὶ κάουσι τὰ διεφθαρμένα τοῦ σώματος, ἕως βάθους τὰ καυτήρια καὶ τὰς τομὰς φέροντες, οὐδὲ τῶν ὑγιαινόντων καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἐχόντων στοχαζόμενοι (*rationem habentes*). Τοιοῦτος μὲν δή τις ὁ πραγματικὸς (*historicus*) Θεοπόμπου χαρακτήρ. Dionysius criticises also his style favourably. Dio Chrysostom (XVIII p. 283 Dind.) places him among the second rank of historians; he allows that he has ἱστορικόν τι περὶ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν τῶν λόγων καὶ οὐκ ἀδύνατος οὐδὲ ὀλίγος περὶ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν καὶ τὸ ῥᾴθυμον περὶ τὰς λέξεις οὐχ οὕτως φαῦλον ὥστε σε λυπῆσαι.

[15] Müller *FHG* II 466 ff. A. F. Rösiger's attempt to shew that Duris was the *fons primarius* of Plutarch and Diodorus has been criticised and proved to be futile by Fr. Gebhard.

110 = B.C. 342—339 at the time when the Athenian allottees (κληροῦχοι) were in possession of his native island Ol. 107, 1—114, 1 = B.C. 352—324. Pausanias VI 13, 5 tells us that Duris was at Olympia, when the glad tidings arrived of Alexander's decree for the restoration of all Greek exiles, and that he there won the Boys' prize for boxing (πυγμή). The principal work of Duris was his Ἱστορίαι (Μακεδονικά, Ἑλληνικά) in 28 books or thereabouts, which began with B.C. 370 = Ol. 102, 3—the year following the battle of Leuctra and fatal to three kings[16]—, and ended probably with the death of Seleucus B.C. 281 = Ol. 124, 4. It is frequently referred to by Plutarch in his *Biographies*, although he had no confidence in the author's veracity or accuracy as an historian, and in the present *Biography* c. 23, 3 he expressly contrasts him with οἱ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν συγγραφέων, as unworthy to be classed among them[17]. He laboured under the faults which were common to most of the writers of his age, but his mistakes are mostly due to those upon whose authority he relied.

Eratosthenes of Cyrene (B.C. 276—B.C. 196) was a writer of a very different calibre from the preceding, and a man of fine taste and sound judgment as well as scientific attainments. He is said to have been summoned by Ptolemy III Euergetes from Athens, where he

[16] Diodor. XV 60.

[17] In further proof of Plutarch's opinion of him, see *Alcib.* c. 32, 2, *Eumen.* c. 1, 2. In *Pericl.* c. 28, 2, where he is quoting a passage from another of his works, ὧροι Σαμίων or 'annals of Samos,' he says:—*οὐδ' ὅπου μηδὲν αὐτῷ πρόσεστιν ἴδιον πάθος εἰωθὼς κρατεῖν τὴν διήγησιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας μᾶλλον ἔοικεν ἐνταῦθα δεινῶσαι τὰς τῆς πατρίδος συμφορὰς ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.* Dionysius (*de comp. verb.* p. 64 ed. G. H. Schäfer) classes him with Phylarchus, Demetrius of Calacte, Hieronymus, Hegesias Magnes and other such uncritical writers, who have left behind them *τοιαύτας συντάξεις οἵας οὐδεὶς ὑπομένει μέχρι κορωνίδος διελθεῖν.* There is only one allusion in the fragments of Duris to Demosthenes and this contains an aspersion on his moral character, Bk. X *fr.* 21 in Müller *FGH* II 474.

benefited by the influence of Ariston of Chios, to Alexandria, where he succeeded the poet Callimachus, as he was himself succeeded by the poet Apollonius Rhodius, as head of the famous library. He was the 'Admirable Crichton' of ancient learning, and used to be called the second or new Plato (Suidas *s.v.*); he did honour to the name of 'philologer'[18], which he was the first to assume, and certainly no one except Aristotle could compare with him in the compass and accuracy of his learning (Strabo *Geogr.* XVII c. 22, Bernhardy *Eratosthenica* Berol. 1822 p. XIII f), especially in the field of astronomical geography and in the historical criticism of primitive Greek history. He was besides an observer, a collector of facts, and an inductive philosopher, but his reputation rests more on his discoveries, than on his literary labours which are represented by only a few fragments. Besides his Γεωγραφικά in three Books, his Καταστερισμοί wherein he gave the legends of the different constellations, his mathematical and other treatises, he wrote an astronomical poem called Ἑρμῆς, a Treatise on the old comedy in 12 books, and one περὶ πλούτου καὶ πενίας which is quoted *Them.* c. 27, 3. The most important of his purely literary works was that περὶ χρονογραφίας, a comprehensive chronological history, in which the author endeavoured to fix the dates of all the important events in literary as well as political history. He is twice quoted in the present *Life*, c. 9, 4 and c. 30, 3. The former quotation is probably taken from his work περὶ ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας, the latter from the χρονογραφία or perhaps from the τὰ περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν.

Hermippus of Smyrna, ὁ Καλλιμάχειος (Athenaeus II 58 f), so named to distinguish him from Hermippus of Barytos, was Plutarch's principal source for two of his

[18] Sueton. *de gramm. ill.* 10.

Lives, those of Solon and Lycurgus. His work—*Βίοι τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ διαλαμψάντων*—was one of considerable authority and much used by later writers. It was contained in several divisions, each of which had a separate title, as *περὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν, περὶ Πρωταγόρου, περὶ Ἱππώνακτος, περὶ Γοργίου, περὶ Ἰσοκράτους, περὶ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῶν, περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους, περὶ Θεοφράστου, περὶ Χρυσίππου*. One, as we learn from a list of Academic philosophers preserved in a papyrus roll from Herculaneum, bore the title *περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας εἰς τυραννίδας καὶ δυναστείας ἀφικομένων*. Josephus (*fr.* 21) speaks of him as *ἀνὴρ περὶ πᾶσαν ἱστορίαν ἐπιμελής*; Dionysius of Halicarnassus commends his general *ἀκρίβεια*. It is certain from Suidas that part of the first and the whole of the second section of the VIIIth chapter was borrowed from him. Hermippus was the common source of Plutarch and Libanius for the statement that Isaeus was Demosthenes' instructor, if we are to believe Dionysius[19]. The statement of the current opinion as to Demosthenes's want of natural talent for speaking may be traced indirectly to Hermippus. There are notices also from the *βίοι* of Hermippus[20] (c. 5, 5; c. 11, 4; c. 28, 3; c. 30, 1) of the statements of older authors, whose credibility must be uncertain, since they are either

[19] *de Isaeo iudicium* I c. 1 p. 588 ed. Reiske:—*οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ τοὺς Ἰσοκράτους μαθητὰς ἀναγράψας Ἕρμιππος, ἀκριβὴς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις γενόμενος, ὑπὲρ τοῦδε τοῦ ῥήτορος* (*Ἰσαίου*) *οὐδὲν εἴρηκεν ἔξω δυεῖν τούτων, ὅτι διήκουσε μὲν Ἰσοκράτους, καθηγήσατο δὲ Δημοσθένους, συνεγένετο δὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν φιλοσόφων.* Cp. c. 4, where Pytheas, a contemporary author, is represented as having said *πονηρίαν τῷ Δημοσθένει καὶ κακίαν τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πᾶσαν ἐνοικεῖν... ὅτι τὸν Ἰσαῖον ὅλον καὶ τὰς τῶν λόγων ἐκείνου τέχνας σεσίτισται.* Hoffmann (*de Demosthene Isaei discipulo*, Berlin 1872) endeavours to show from these two passages that Demosthenes was *not* a pupil of Isaeus, and he supports his conclusion by an assertion of Isocrates (*antidos.* § 41), which he takes *au pied de la lettre*, that no *λογογράφος* had ever been *μαθητῶν ἠξιωμένος*.

[20] See n. to c. 28, 3: also to c. 8, 2 l. 12.

not mentioned by name, or otherwise unknown, as Aesion and Pappus.

Of the writers *minorum gentium*—Marsyas[21], Phylarchus[22], Aristobulus[23], Idomeneus[24], Demochares[25]—I have already spoken in the respective notes *ad ll.*

Ctesibius, who is quoted at second hand from Hermippus as his authority for the statement[26] (c. 5, 5) that Demosthenes studied the rhetorical treatises of Isocrates and Alcidamas, was the philosopher of Chalcis (Euboea), and pupil of Menedemus, according to Antigonus of Carystos (Athenae. IV 162), and the instructor of king Antigonus (B.C. 229—221).

There are also references to the Peripatetic philosophers—Theophrastus[27] (c. 10, 1; c. 17, 3), whose ἱστορικὰ ὑπομνήματα was a rich mine for biographers. Hermippus, Demetrius Phalereus and Eratosthenes also belonged to the same school of philosophy.

[21] Author of a work entitled Ἀττικά in ten books; see c. 18, 2. There was also a Marsyas of Philippi, who wrote Μακεδονικά among other things. See Ritschl *de Marsyis rerum scriptoribus* in: *Opusc.* I 449—470.

[22] c. 27, 3. For a criticism on Phylarchus, see Polybius II 56, 8, who is followed by Plut. *Them.* c. 32, 2, where see my note ed. 3.

[23] c. 23, 4.

[24] c. 15, 3.

[25] c. 30, 4. See also Ruhnken on Rutilius Lupus *de fig. sent.* p. 7 sqq. I have omitted to state in my n. *ad loc.* that it was Demochares who in B.C. 280 proposed and carried the decree in honour of Demosthenes, his uncle, which may be read in the *vit. X orr.* 850.

[26] The statement is repeated in the *vit. X orr.* 844 C where it is said to be taken from his work περὶ φιλοσοφίας.

[27] Gebhard thinks it possible that in c. 17, 3 Plutarch has confused the writer with the archon of Ol. 110, 1. In his collection of ἀποφθέγματα the passage, he thinks, originally ran thus:—κατὰ Θεόφραστον συμμαχίας κοινῆς συστάσης καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἀξιούντων ὁρισθῆναι τὰς εἰσφορὰς εἶπε Κρώβυλος κτλ. and he suggests that Plutarch on subsequently referring to it, mistook the indication of time for that of authorship. In c. 14, 3 where the vulgate is Θεόπομπος, Graux adopts the reading Θεόφραστος from his favourite MS 𝔑. He is followed by Blass *Att. Ber.* II p. 415 note 5.

To the Stoic school of philosophy belong Ariston[28] of Chios (c. 10, 1, 2; c. 30, 1) and the eclectic Panaetius[29] (B.C. 170—100), the former of whom is quoted as the authority for a criticism of Theophrastus on Demosthenes and Demades and one version of the story of the mode of poisoning used by Demosthenes, the latter for his testimony to the elevated sentiment and patriotism of the orator, as displayed in certain of his Speeches.

Of Rhetoricians, Demetrius[30] (B.C. 346—B.C. 283), called Phalereus from his birthplace, the Attic deme Phaleron—a contemporary of Demosthenes, and the last among the Attic orators worthy of the name—is quoted several times, in c. 11, 1 for a statement communicated to him by the orator himself; again in c. 9, 4 for a favourable judgment concerning the effect of his oratory. The two remaining quotations, c. 14, 2 and c. 28, 3, are of less importance. After studying together with the poet Menander under Theophrastus (Diog. Laert. v 75) Demetrius began his public career B.C. 324, as one of Phocion's party, at whose death he was appointed by Cassander governor of Athens (B.C. 317—307). This office he filled to the great satisfaction of his countrymen, but his success and popularity turned his head and he became ἐπαχθὴς καὶ βαρὺς τῶν τιμῶν ταῖς ἀμετρίαις which his countrymen conferred upon him (Plut. *Demetr.* c. 10, 2). By the connivance of Demetrius Poliorcetes, whose assistance a party of malcontents had invited, he was allowed to go into exile, and took refuge with Ptolemy Soter at Alexandria, where he laid the foundation of the great library and where most of his numerous writings were composed. Diogenes

28 See n. to c. 10, 1. The two quotations are perhaps taken from his book πρὸς τοὺς ῥήτορας.

29 See n. to c. 13, 4.

30 Ostermann *De Demetrii vita rebus gestis et scriptorum reliquiis* Hersfeld 1847, Fulda 1857.

Laertius (v 80) gives a list of these, adding the remark :—πλήθει βιβλίων καὶ ἀριθμῷ στίχων σχεδὸν ἅπαντας παρελήλακε τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν Περιπατητικούς, εὐπαίδευτος ὢν καὶ πολύπειρος παρ' ὁντινοῦν. Among them were historical essays, rhetorical treatises on popular philosophy and collections of fables. His principal historical work was Memoirs περὶ τῆς δεκαετείας, or the decade of his administration of Athens[31]. Another bore the title ἀρχόντων ἀναγραφή or 'a list of the Attic archons': another was the half-theoretical, half-practical brochure on the legislation and government of Athens (περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησι νομοθεσίας in five Books, and περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι πολιτειῶν in two Books). The quotation in c. 9, 4 may be taken from his work περὶ ῥητορικῆς, though he may have spoken of Demosthenes also in his essay περὶ δημαγωγίας[32].

Another Demetrius—surnamed Magnes i.e. of Magnesia (Thessaly), a polyhistor and an elder contemporary of Cicero—is twice quoted (c. 15, 3; c. 27, 5); the former quotation[33] is taken from his work περὶ ὁμωνύμων ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων, the latter from the treatise περὶ ὁμονοίας. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*de Dinarcho iudic.* c. 1) speaks rather unfavourably of his judgments, and the story about the composition of the distich, as we know from another source[34], was accepted by him, although pronounced by Plutarch to be κομιδῇ φλυαρία.

Another distinguished Greek rhetorician was Caecilius ὁ Καλακτῖνος i.e. of Calacte (Sicily)—a friend of Dionysius[35], and a pupil of Apollodorus the distin-

[31] Cp. Strabo *Geogr.* IX c. 1, 20. Demochares (ap. Polyb. XII c. 13, 9 ff) passes a severe judgment on the work.

[32] C. Müller *FHG* II 367.

[33] See n. *ad l.* and cp. Anon. *vit.* 306, Suidas 311.

[34] See n. on c. 30, 5. It is possible, however, that Demetrius may have adopted the statement from an older writer.

[35] *Ep. ad Cn. Pomp.* c. 3: ἐμοὶ καὶ τῷ φιλτάτῳ Καικιλίῳ.

guished rhetorician of Pergamus[36]. His chief work—a treatise on the style of the ten Attic orators[37], περὶ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων—is the groundwork of the Ps.-Plut. *vit. X orr.* His last, a treatise on the comparative merits of Demosthenes and Cicero, is referred to in c. 3, 1. He was the author of many works[37] on grammar and rhetoric, the titles of some of which are given by Suidas, who has a good article on him, but none of them are extant. The canon of the ten great Attic orators was probably not drawn up by him[37], as is commonly supposed, but by his tutor Apollodorus.

Another source of information was open to Plutarch, which he never neglects to avail himself of in his *Lives*, as in those of *Themistocles*, *Pericles*, *Nicias*, either directly or indirectly, viz. the allusions in contemporary comic dramatists. Antiphanes, one of the best representatives of what is called the Middle Comedy, who began his career as a playwright in B.C. 383, is quoted twice:—in c. 4, 4, and in c. 9, 5 where another poet also is quoted anonymously as the author of an opprobrious epithet of Demosthenes.

The above, then, are all the authorities whom Plutarch expressly names, others being indicated by him only in such vague terms as ἔνιοί τινες μέμνηνται (c. 4, 4); φασί (c. 4, 5; c. 5, 1; c. 7, 1, 3; c. 10, 2; c. 19, 2); ὥς τινες λέγουσι (c. 5, 4); οἱ λέγοντες (c. 30, 5); λέγεται (c. 11, 2; c. 15, 1; c. 26, 2, 4; c. 31, 1); ὡς ἔοικε (c. 6, 3); ἔοικε (c. 9, 3). But such incidental mention does not

[36] Among others ἐκλογὴ λέξεων κατὰ στοιχεῖον—the real title of which was καλλιρρημοσύνη—, περὶ ῥητορικῆς and περὶ σχημάτων which is referred to by Quintilian. On the treatise περὶ ὕψους or 'the Sublime,' see my note on c. 3, 2. Toup, the Editor of Ps.-Longinus περὶ Ὕψους, thinks that the passage c. 12, 4 in that work may be borrowed from him.

[37] Brzoska *de canone decem oratorum atticorum* Breslau *Diss.* 1883.

necessarily imply that he had consulted the writings of all himself, or that they were his only authorities. It is quite possible that some of the references may have been included in and taken straight from his principal source—some writer, it may be, of a later age. For Plutarch, in general, leaves his readers to guess who his chief authority is, or, if he does reveal his name, it is usually to correct in him some supposed error of judgment or misrepresentation of fact, in his desire to exhibit as faithful a portrait as possible of the particular character under consideration[38]. The main source of this *Life*, then, as of others of Plutarch, must remain a matter of speculation, though some of the above writers may at once be dismissed as unlikely or even impossible.

There was, however, a learned and laborious writer of the same school as Hermippus and author of a similar work—*βίοι ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν*[39]—whom Plutarch may have laid under contribution, although he does not name him. This was Satyrus who lived in the time of Ptolemaeus Philometor (B.C. 181—146). He is credited by the Ps.-Plutarch p. 847[a] with the story of the mode of poisoning which Demosthenes employed, which Satyrus himself doubtless borrowed from Ariston of Chios to whom it is attributed in the *Life* c. 30, 1. Satyrus is one of the authorities whom Plutarch followed, if indeed he was not his main source, in the *Life of Alcibiades*, and it is curious at least to find the *carmen epinicium*, written in honour of that hero's victory at Olympia—which is referred to in *Dem.* c. 1, 1—quoted there in full[40].

The few extant fragments of the writers of the Macedonian period throw little or no light on the history of Demosthenes.

[38] Cp. H. Peter, *die Quellen Plutarchs in den Biographien der Römer*, p. 107, Hallé 1865.

[39] Ptolemaeus *nov. hist.* (ap. Westermann *Mythograph.* p. 194, 30) says of him:—*ζῆτα ἐκαλεῖτο διὰ τὸ ζητητικὸν αὐτοῦ.* His work was so extensive that an abridgement of it was made by a contemporary, Heracleides Lembus (B.C. 181—146). Athenaeus XII c. 47 p. 34 B quotes a long passage from Satyrus referring to Alcibiades' expensive habits. Gebhard is of opinion that he was Plutarch's principal source: see his *de Plut. in Demosthenis vita fontibus ac fide* p. 20 ff.

[40] *Alc.* c. 11, 2.

Ephorus, whose history ended with the Siege of Perinthus Ol. 110, 1; his son Demophilus, who wrote a history of the Phocian war in continuation of his father's history (Diod. Sic. XVI 14, Athenae. 232 d); Anaximenes of Lampsacus, whose Φιλιππικά contained the history of events from Ol. 104, 3—Ol. 111, 1 and was followed by τὰ περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον; Callisthenes of Olynthus, who wrote a history of Greece from the peace of Antalcidas to the spoliation of the temple at Delphi, also a work περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πολέμου (Athenae. XIII p. 560 c); Diyllus of Athens, who wrote a history in 27 books of Greece proper and Sicily from the time of the Phocian war to B.C. 295 (Diod. XVI 14); and others, whom Plutarch may have consulted, although he does not mention their names.

Plutarch's Life of Demosthenes

is one of his first Series of *Parallel Lives*, which were composed at the instance of the author's personal friends, and formed, as we are told in c. 3, 1 of the *Proem*, its *Fifth Book* or Volume. It lends itself to six Divisions, as follows:—

A. c. 1—c. 3. Proem, addressed to Sosius Senecio, common to the pair of *Lives Demosthenes—Cicero*, wherein the writer speaks with diffidence of his qualifications for the task of comparing the two greatest orators of their age. He cannot do more than read their dispositions and characters by the light of their actions and public careers. A critical enquiry into their oratorical merits is beyond his scope, since his knowledge of the Latin language is not sufficient to enable him to judge between them.

Division A is clearly from the pen of Plutarch himself. The peculiar involved style, and connexion of sentences as well as the general subject, leave no doubt of this. 'There is a good deal of appropriateness in Plutarch's parallel with Cicero. Besides the superficial resemblances, of which he has accumulated enough to be striking, the fundamental tragedy of the situation was the same for both; they saw how to save their country, and with all their matchless eloquence they had no hold on the working political

forces of the time. Of the two, Cicero was the more fortunate; he had not to survive the false success of the Philippics so long as Demosthenes survived the false success of the league which was crushed at Chaeroneia. The irreproachable regularity of Cicero's private life may be contrasted with the numerous infirmities of Demosthenes; but the inexhaustible self-complacency of the Roman is heartless compared to the feverish, almost petulant indignation of the Greek, which sprang from a consuming intention of purpose able to raise a life stained by much weakness, perhaps by some baseness, to the loftiest heights of greatness and heroism.' G. A. SIMCOX, *Introd. to Demosth. on the Crown*, p. lxvi.

B. c. 4—c. 5. The parentage of Demosthenes and his childhood (c. 4, 1); the treachery of his appointed guardians (§ 2); effect thereof, combined with other causes, on his early training (§ 3); the nicknames given him at school (§ 4—§ 5); the profound impression made upon him by the speech of Callistratus in the famous Oropic trial, and its influence on his subsequent career; his exclusive devotion to studies which would qualify him to become an orator (c. 5, 1—3); his instructors and books of study (§ 4).

Theopompus is the acknowledged authority for the first part of c. 4 § 1; Aeschines for the second, though Plutarch cannot vouch for the truth of his statement; § 2 is taken from the *First Speech against Aphobus;* § 3 is at variance with the statement in c. 5, 3, and with Demosth. *or. de cor.* § 265. Some take this as an indication of a composite narrative, one favourable, the other unfavourable to Demosthenes, the two welded together by the compiler into a continuous whole. The latter of the two narratives ascribed his imperfect physical training to the stinginess of his guardians as one cause; Libanius is the only other Biographer who speaks of his physical weakness as another cause. We trace the same hand in the remark about Isocrates (c. 5 § 4). Possibly Plutarch merely exaggerates what Demosthenes himself states *Aph.* 1 § 47; the use of δοκεῖ points to this conclusion.

C. c. 6—c. 11: Demosthenes as an advocate. His suit against his guardians when he became an ephebus:

he is inspired with confidence by its success—but his spirit demanded a wider sphere of action than that of a *λογογράφος* or writer of forensic speeches, and he aspires to become a popular orator and to participate in the direction of the community and of its public affairs (c. 6, 1—2). But his first speech in public was worse than a failure; he was derided and hooted down. His timid bearing and want of ease, his clumsily constructed and involved periods, together with his personal defects—weak voice, indistinct articulation, and short breath, which made it difficult to follow or understand him—told terribly against him (§ 3). The dream of his youth seemed on the point of vanishing for ever, and he was strolling disconsolately about Peiraeus, when Eunomus of Thria, an old man who had in his boyhood listened to Pericles, took him to task for his cowardice in giving up so easily. At the same time he paid him the great compliment of recognising in him a force of diction like that of Pericles (§ 4). On another occasion, the player Satyrus pointed out to him the weak points in his delivery and made him see by his own rehearsal the vast importance of action (c. 7, 1—2). Thenceforward Demosthenes set himself to labour at self-development and improvement.

Plutarch has borrowed § 3 from Aeschines, either directly or through his main source; § 4 and § 5 look like a sort of scholion written to clear up the mystery of the word *βάταλος*. And the scholia to Aeschines *c. Timarch.* § 126 (Baiter-Sauppe *Orat. Att.* II p. 22^{b}, 28 sqq. C. Müller *Or. Att.* II p. 498) lend plausibility to this supposition of Gebhard's:—*ὠνομάσθη δέ φασιν οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Βατάλου αὐλητοῦ μαλακοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ καὶ ποιητοῦ κατεαγότα κρούματα γράφοντος...εἰσὶ δ' οἳ βάταλον προσηγόρευον τὸν πρωκτόν*, and *δοκεῖ δέ μοι λελέχθαι Βάταλος παρὰ τὸ Εὐπόλιδος σκῶμμα· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ τὸ τῶν βατάλων ὀνόμα κεῖσθαι τοῖς αἰσχροῖς καὶ Τιγράνην* (Sauppe *τὸν πρωκτὸν*) *βάταλον ὑπ' αὐτῶν καλεῖσθαι.* Again as to *τὸ Ἀργᾶς*, the same schol. on *or. de f. l.* § 99 (Baiter-Sauppe *Or. Att.* II p. 33

b, Müll. *Or. Att.* II p. 506) ἀργᾶς δὲ καλεῖται ὁ ὄφις παρὰ Δωριεῦσιν. θέλει οὖν αὐτὸν ὀφιώδη τὸν τρόπον δεῖξαι καὶ οἱονεὶ θηριώδη καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον: and again εἶδός τι ὄφεως ἀναιρετικοῦ· ἢ ὁ ἀργῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, γράφων δὲ λόγους... ἢ ἀπὸ ποιητοῦ καλουμένου οὕτω πονηροῦ. But it is possible that Plutarch found the comments on the word in his original source. § 5 is doubtless from Hermippus, who had the story from Hegesias Magnes, a contemporary of Demochares, to whom it is ascribed by Ps.-Plut. *vit. X orr.* 844[b], and by A. Gellius *NA* III 13.

He shut himself up in an underground chamber and shaved one side only of his head, so that he might be ashamed to venture out for months at a time[41] (§ 3). He made every subject of the day that came up in common intercourse an occasion and argument to work upon in subservience to his one great object; he would go over again all the topics by himself, and reduce the subject-matter to writing, starting objections, rearranging the arguments and changing and modifying the forms of expression in every possible way. Such persevering laboriousness gave rise to a general impression that he had no natural aptitude for speaking—an impression which was strengthened by his reluctance to speak extempore without due thought and preparation (c. 8, 1—2). His general vindication of himself against the taunts of rival speakers, and his retort in particular upon Pytheas (§ 3—§ 4). Incidental proof of his want of assurance to speak off-hand (§ 5). Yet, as his rival Aeschines allows, he could, if he chose, improvise on important occasions with considerable success. Two

[41] The numerous other anecdotes, to which currency was given by calumnious and malignant gossip at an early date in order to make fun of him as an eccentric pedant, who forced himself to the utmost seclusion, so as to live entirely for his studies, prove at all events that the iron strength of will with which he pursued his end created astonishment among his fellow-citizens and that they regarded him as a man of quite different stuff from other men. See Curtius *Hist. Gr.* V p. 227, Engl. Tr.

instances in point (c. 9, 1—2). His usual cautious reserve and objection to speak off-hand on any subject and on any occasion, and his indifference to any credit to be got by such means—these, as well as his style and delivery, were in imitation of Pericles, whose greatness he ascribed to such proper control and exercise of judgment (§ 3). The speeches which he actually delivered showed more *verve* and enthusiasm than those which he only wrote for delivery, if we may believe the combined testimony of Eratosthenes, Demetrius the Phalerean and the contemporary dramatists, Antiphanes in particular (§ 4—§ 5). At the same time, the off-hand sallies of Demades were in their way incomparable and generally allowed to be superior to the laboured and prepared speeches of Demosthenes. Opinion of Theophrastus, as recorded by Ariston of Chios, on the respective merits of Demosthenes and Demades; also that of Polyeuctus on Demosthenes and Phocion (c. 10, 1—2). The remark of Demosthenes himself on Phocion's powerful influence in relation to himself might apply either to his speaking or to his moral character: it is not clear which was meant by Demosthenes.

Reverting to the subject of his physical defects, Plutarch gives the details as told by Demosthenes himself to Demetrius the Phalerean, many years afterwards—how he overcame his inarticulate and stammering pronunciation by speaking with pebbles in his mouth; how he strengthened his voice by declaiming and reciting verses and speeches when out of breath, while running or walking up hill; and how he had a large mirror in his house, in front of which he stood, while he went through his exercises (c. 11, 1—2[42]). Anecdote, serving to illustrate the

[42] These details may have reached Plutarch through the channel of Hermippus. Cp. Dionys. Hal. *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 53:—*καίτοι φύσει πρὸς ταῦτα (τὰ πάθη τὰ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τὰ σχήματα τοῦ*

importance which he had been taught (cp. c. 7, 2) to attach to action and tone of voice or accentuation for producing conviction in his hearers (§ 2—§ 3). His own action electrified the popular assembly, but men of taste, such as Demetrius himself, thought it mean, inelegant and unmanly. Thus Aesion, a contemporary, contrasted his artificial manner and forced pathos with the reserve and self-possession of older speakers who discoursed with the multitude in a stately, magnificent way. The orations of Demosthenes, though, shew more art in their composition and greater intensity. His written speeches are, it must be allowed, characterized by extreme severity and pungency, but in his extempore retorts and rejoinders he allowed himself occasionally the use of humour also (§ 4). Two instances of this (§ 5—§ 6).

In the first part of *Division C* (c. 6—c. 8), Plutarch rather wanders from his avowed purpose (see c. 3, 1), while he dwells with more than ordinary detail on the pains taken by Demosthenes to perfect himself as an orator. There is presumptive evidence to shew that he followed Hermippus. C. 9 may have been thrown into its present conversational form by Plutarch himself, but it is more likely that he took it as he found it in his primary source. It must remain an open question whether he also borrowed any supplementary matter from Theopompus.

There is, I think, no reason for supposing with Sturm that Plutarch must have drawn upon two different sources for cc. 6—10, and c. 11, on the ground that the latter exhibits partly a mere repetition, partly a contradiction, of previous statements. But this is not the case. His physical defects, it is true, were mentioned in c. 6, 3, but we were not told by what means he overcame them. The explanation of this he reserves for c. 11, 1—2. Again § 3 contains an anecdote illustrative of the importance of action, a matter of which we were merely told before that Demosthenes himself was convinced. Again, there is no contradiction that I can discover between the statement at the end of this § and that in c. 9,

σώματος) οὐ πάνυ εὐτυχεῖ χρησάμενος, ὡς Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς φησι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ συγγράψαντες. Their names are again coupled together in c. 28, 3.

2, where nothing more is said than that Demosthenes imitated τὸ πλάσμα καὶ τὸν σχηματισμόν of Pericles; not a word is said about the marvellous effect produced on his audience. Lastly there is no such strong resemblance between the two anecdotes about Pytheas and Chalcus, that one should be considered as a mere repetition of the other.

D. c. 12—c. 15. Demosthenes as a statesman and orator. The beginning of his political career coincided with the outbreak of the Phocian war. His prosecution of Midias for an outrage committed in public on his person during a sacred festival, in which he was discharging the functions of choregus, took place before he had attained any position or influence in the commonwealth; and this, perhaps, was the reason why he did not bring the case to trial, but yielding to the intercession of others compromised it by payment of thirty minae; for Midias was too wealthy and backed by too many supporters to make his prosecutor's victory a certainty (c. 12, 1—3). The deference paid to him by the king of Persia; his superiority to the other statesmen acknowledged even by Philip; and the avowal of his enemies, including Aeschines, that he was a man of no ordinary character (§ 3—§ 4).

This portion of the chapter is Plutarch's own composition, as is indicated by the expressions μοι δοκεῖ, οὐκ ἄν μοι δοκοῦσι; it is based partly upon the *or. de cor.* § 18, and partly upon *or. c. Mid.* § 154—a speech which he appears to have been familiar with, as he transcribes a passage from it in the treatise *de educ.* c. 9. The first part of § 3 is directed against the obloquy of Aeschines; the latter part of § 3 and § 4 contain a brief summary of the points more fully dealt with in subsequent chapters, his παρρησία (c. 14, 3), the admiration of his character in Greece (c. 18), the respect in which he was held by the king of Persia (c. 20, 4).

As to the sneer of Theopompus at the levity and caprice with which he changed his convictions about men or things—it is altogether contradicted by facts. So far indeed from forsaking the party and measures

which he clung to at first, Demosthenes forfeited his life rather than abandon his principles. He was not a time-server—such as the turncoat Demades and others who unblushingly offered excuses similar to those of Demades for their change of political views—but (to borrow a metaphor from music) he preserved from first to last in all his public actions the same key that he touched at first (c. 13, 1—3).

Judgment of the Stoic Panaetius, a weighty authority, on his speeches, which, as he justly says, breathe a sentiment of lofty morality. Thus in those *on the Crown*, *Against Aristocrates*, *On the Immunities* (*Against the law of Leptines*), and in the *eleven Philippics*, so far from leading his fellow-citizens to what is most agreeable, easy and profitable, he declares over and over again that it is their duty to regard even their own safety and preservation as matters of secondary importance to the claims of honour and duty (§ 4). The noble ideal which he set before himself in his principles of action and the high tone of his speeches were unfortunately not accompanied with contempt of physical danger on the battle-field and strict purity in all his dealings. But for these two drawbacks, he might have taken rank as a statesman with the worthies of the preceding generations—Cimon, Thucydides and Pericles—, instead of lowering himself to the level of a Moerocles, a Polyeuctus and a Hypereides (§ 5). It was his valour and integrity which raised his contemporary Phocion to the level of Ephialtes, Aristides and Cimon, in spite of his Macedonian policy, whereas Demosthenes in this respect was much better qualified to recommend than to imitate the glories of past times, for his courage in arms was not to be relied on, as his friend Demetrius confesses, and, though he did not yield to the temptation of Macedonian gold, he

could not resist that of Persian[43]. It must be acknowledged, though, that in his private life and conduct he was a long way ahead of contemporary speakers, if we except Phocion (c. 14, 1—2).

Sturm will not allow that c. 13, 5—c. 14, 1, 2 are taken from the same source as c. 12—c. 13, 1—4. His opinion is that they come from the author whose hand he traces first in c. 4 and then in c. 11 (where again the authority of Demetrius is expressly quoted), and afterwards in c. 20—c. 26. But he does not see that there are two distinct things laid to the charge of Demosthenes. In the former portion it is his want of political consistency, and this is what Plutarch defends against the unjust attacks of Theopompus; in the latter, it is his lack of physical courage and his accessibility to bribes, which make it impossible to place him on a level with the worthies of a past generation. Plutarch concludes with a final remark of his own concerning his private life and conduct.

His orations prove that he was not afraid of speaking his mind boldly to the popular assembly, and opposing their whims and caprices and fearlessly declaiming against their faults. This *παρρησία* is illustrated in an anecdote from Theopompus. Further examples of his independence of judgment and even high-handed dealing (§ 3—§ 4).

The statement of Theopompus, who was glad of any evidence that might seem to shew that Demosthenes favoured the party, of which he was himself so staunch an adherent, is in apparent contradiction with c. 8, 4 where we must suppose the main authority to have been followed.

Digression. It has been made an exception against the character of Demosthenes that he sometimes had the bad taste to write speeches for two opposite parties in private suits, and that his conduct towards Apollodorus and Phormio in particular was unprofessional (c. 15,

[43] Cp. *Dem.-Cic.* c. 3, 6 *ἀλλ' ὅτι γε πρὸς δωρεὰς βασιλέων σὺν χάριτι καὶ τιμῇ διδομένας ἀντιβλέψαι Δημοσθένης οὐκ ἂν ἐτόλμησεν, οὐδ' ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἀνθρώπου δανείζοντος ἐπὶ ναυτικοῖς, ἀμήχανον ἀντειπεῖν.*

1). Some of his court speeches in public causes were written for others; but in the speech for the repeal of the law of *Leptines* (a second non-penal indictment), he appeared himself in court as a legal counsel for his intimate friend Ctesippus, son of Chabrias,—as some say, from interested motives, because he was about to marry his mother, an event, however, which never took place; it is uncertain whether that on *The Embassy* was ever delivered; Idomeneus says it was, but there is no reference to the subject in either of the *Speeches on the Crown.* This question however Plutarch leaves to the decision of more competent critics than himself (§ 2—§ 3).

This chapter is probably taken from Caecilius of Calacte (c. 3, 2), the best authority on the subject after Dionysius of Halicarnassus, whose labours he made use of. See 1 *Ep. ad Amm.* c. 4 *καί ἐστιν αὐτοῦ πρῶτος τῶν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ κατασκευασθέντων ἀγώνων ὁ κατὰ Ἀνδροτίωνος ὃν γέγραφε Διοδώρῳ τῳ κρίνοντι τὸ ψήφισμα παρανόμων.*

E. c. 16—c. 22. Plutarch now returns to the subject of c. 12 and dwells on the interference of Demosthenes in foreign politics. His unhesitating and unswerving opposition to the designs of king Philip, and his inflammatory appeals to his fellow-citizens in the cause of freedom began before the peace was broken. The king himself could not afford to despise him and, when he came on a deputation to sound his inclination towards peace, answered his speech with greater care than those of the rest of the envoys, though he did not shew him the same civility, in other respects, as he bestowed upon Aeschines and Philocrates. How Demosthenes resented the praise which they lavished on the king (c. 16, 1—2).

Plutarch here ascribes to Demosthenes, what Aeschines claims for himself (see note *ad l.*). We are left to suppose, therefore, either a lapse of memory in Plutarch, or that he is quoting from

some author (say, Theopompus) who had corrected Aeschines' misrepresentation of the case.

When they drifted into war, and Philip, on the one hand, found himself unable to maintain the peace, and the Athenians, on the other, could not resist the passionate appeals of Demosthenes, he began by instigating them to expel the Macedonian garrisons from Euboea (c. 17, 1). Again, it was he who forced Philip to raise the siege of Byzantium and Perinthus, by procuring the intervention of the Athenians, whom he persuaded to forget past animosities and to send to the relief of the besieged a strong naval force, such as eventually saved them from ruin (§ 2). Lastly, it was owing to his missionary zeal and activity that many profitable allies joined Athens against Philip, and that the military chest was enriched. (This was the occasion of Hegesippus's famous utterance, when the allies desired that the quota of each might be settled, 'War can't be kept at so much a day'). (§ 3).

His most difficult task yet remained,—to bring about an alliance between the Athenians and Thebans, who were under recent obligations to Philip (§ 4—§ 5). It was not until Philip's occupation of Elatea that he was able to overcome, in the general consternation at Athens, the anti-Theban feeling which prevailed there, and to induce the Athenians to lay aside the petty jealousies, grudges and secondary interests which divided the two neighbouring republics. He animated the people and inspired them with fresh hopes, in consequence of which he was sent armed with full powers to Thebes, and there combated Philip's envoys, as Marsyas informs us (c. 18, 1—2). The Thebans saw well enough which way their true interest lay, but the terrors of war were still before their eyes, and their losses in the Phocian troubles were

still recent. But the fiery oratory of Demosthenes created a revulsion of feeling, and, casting away every thought of prudence, fear and obligation, in a sort of divine inspiration and possession, they chose the path of honour, to which his language invited them. His diplomatic success in organising a coalition brought him such prestige that Philip sent instant propositions of peace, all Greece was up in arms to back him, and the Boeotian commanders were as ready as the Athenians to obey him as their war minister; he was equally beloved, equally powerful in both places, as he well deserved to be. Theopompus himself speaks of this success, obtained by the great orator's diplomacy and eloquence, in terms of lively admiration, but he does so with an ill grace and as it were in spite of himself, for he adds that the popularity which it brought him was more than he deserved[44] (§ 3—§ 4).

But their hopes were cruelly disappointed and his

[44] The remarks of H. Weil (*Introduction* to his ed. of *Les harangues de Démosthène*, ed. 2 Paris 1881 p. xxv) on this period of the orator's life are well worth quoting:—*Pour bien se rendre compte du mérite de Démosthène, il faut se rappeler comment avait été conduite la première guerre contre Philippe. Les Athéniens n'y avaient montré aucun esprit de suite, n'y avaient guère fait d'effort sérieux, étaient toujours arrivés trop tard pour sauver leurs possessions ou leurs alliés. Une pensée sérieuse, active, infatigable préside, au contraire, à la conduite de cette autre guerre: les services sont réorganisés, on voit apparaître quelque chose de l'antique dévouement à la patrie, des alliances sont conclues, et les progrès de l'ennemi sont arrêtés pendant quelque temps. Chose remarquable, des nombreuses harangues que Démosthène a dû prononcer durant ces années, les mieux remplies de sa vie, il n'a légué aucune à la postérité. C'est qu'autrefois, quand il avait peu d'influence directe sur les affaires, il lui importait de prolonger et de soutenir par la lecture l'effet moral produit par l'audition de ses discours. Quand il fut arrivé au pouvoir, sa parole agissait directement, immédiatement, se traduisait aussitôt en décrets, en mesures financières, militaires. Tout entier à l'action, il dédaignait la gloire littéraire qu'aurait pu lui donner la rédaction de ses harangues. On peut dire que les* Philippiques, *qu'il n'a pas écrites, font plus d'honneur à Démosthène, que celles qui l'ont fait admirer par la postérité.*

noble efforts frustrated by a mysterious providence which foredoomed the extinction of the freedom of Greece just at this crisis, not without many ominous signs of the issue; among the rest, discouraging oracles emanating from Delphi, and the revival of an old Sibylline prophecy about a battle at Thermodon (c. 19, 1). Digression on the meaning of Thermodon in this and another prophecy relating thereto (§ 2—§ 3). Demosthenes, having full confidence in the result and animated by the sight of so numerous an army, hearty and combined in defence of Grecian independence, would not let the Athenians and their allies listen to such dismal forebodings. He professed to suspect the Delphian prophetess of philippising, and reminded the Athenians and Thebans that Pericles and Epaminondas regarded belief in omens as mere pretexts for cowardice (c. 20, 1). Thus far he was a brave man, but in the field of Chaeronea, where he served as a common soldier in the ranks of the Athenian hoplites, his performance did not come up to his profession; he deserted his post with the rest, flung away his shield and shared in the flight of his defeated countrymen, not ashamed, as Pytheas said scornfully, to belie the inscription written in letters of gold on his shield 'With good fortune' (§ 2).

After his victory Philip, having drunk to intoxication, indulged in the most insulting and licentious exultation on the field of battle, and with childish levity sang the preamble of a psephism of Demosthenes, but when he returned to his sober senses, he could not help being impressed with the enormous power of the orator, who had compelled him to risk his empire and life on the cast of a few hours (§ 3).

Meanwhile the fame of Demosthenes reached the ears of the Persian king, who wrote a letter to his satraps commanding them to supply him with money,

and to pay him every attention as the only one capable of making a diversion in his favour, by finding employment for the Macedonian troops nearer home. The correspondence of Demosthenes was subsequently discovered by Alexander at Sardis, together with papers of the satraps shewing the amount of the sums advanced to him (§ 4—§ 5).

The philippising orators at Athens now loudly denounced Demosthenes and his policy; but their impeachments against him altogether failed, the public feeling still sustained him, and, when the time came for electing a public orator to deliver the funeral oration over the slain at Chaeronea, he was invested with the solemn duty. So far were they from bearing their misfortune in a dastardly spirit, as Theopompus states with characteristic exaggeration, that by paying the chief honour to their counsellor, they made it appear that they were not dissatisfied with his counsels (c. 21, 1—2). Still there was a lurking sentiment at Athens against him, and he found it convenient to have his recommendations moved *pro forma* by some of his personal friends for a time, until the death of Philip (§ 3). This event, of which he had received early intelligence, changed the whole tone of the orator's feelings, as if the work of the king had died with him. He appeared in the senate with a glad countenance, and professed that joyful news had been revealed to him in a vision. When the news actually came, sacrifices of thanksgiving were offered and a crown was voted to Pausanias, the king's assassin, as a hero. Demosthenes was at the time in mourning for his only daughter, who had been dead only a week, but he appeared in public with holiday garments and with a garland of flowers on his head (c. 22, 1—2).

Digression in which Plutarch makes some reflexions on the unfairness of Aeschines in reproaching Demo-

sthenes as an unnatural father, though he admits that it is an open question whether the extravagant manifestations of public joy at the death of Philip should not have been tempered by the remembrance of the lenity and forbearance, which the king had himself shewn to the vanquished (§ 3—§ 5).

Gebhard considers Plutarch's account of the difficulty, which Demosthenes had to contend with in his efforts to detach the Thebans from the interests of Philip, to be a composite one, because one reason is assigned in c. 17, 5 and another of a different kind in c. 18, 2. The former tallies with that assigned in Dem. *de cor.* § 213, the latter with the testimony of Theopompus, whom Plutarch quotes almost admiringly, though he will not allow him to detract from the merits of Demosthenes or to grudge him the influence and honor which his successful policy entitled him to (c. 18, 4). A comparison of Aeschines *Ctesiph.* § 145—6, § 150, § 220 and § 233 will leave no doubt as to the ultimate source which influenced the judgment of Theopompus who, although he was by no means otherwise partial to Demosthenes, does not, like the rival orator, undervalue his influence on the counsels of the Athenians (§ 137).

The reflexion with which c. 19, 1 begins was suggested by Demosth. *de cor.* § 271. Theopompus, a contemporary, is most probably the authority for the first of the oracles and the Sibylline prophecy, as Duris the Samian is avowedly for the second. In c. 20, 1 Plutarch vindicates Demosthenes for bidding his countrymen shut their ears to the oracles against the complaint of Aeschines *Ctes.* § 130. The cowardice of Demosthenes, already borne witness to by Demetrius the Phalerean (c. 14, 2), is here further attested by the sarcastic reproach of Pytheas § 2, which Plutarch doubtless found in his main authority; § 3 is from the 53rd Book of the Φιλιππικά, as we learn from Athenaeus X 435 B, D. In § 4—§ 5, concerning the money which was ordered to be sent by the King of Persia to Demosthenes, the authorities upon whom Plutarch relied were Theopompus, Demetrius the Phalerean, Aeschines *or. c. Ctes.* (§§ 157, 173, 209, 239, 244, 259).

c. 21, 1, 2. As to the continued confidence in Demosthenes on the part of the general body of his countrymen being a proof that they did not credit the imputation of cowardice, Plutarch's authority is the *or. de cor.* §§ 249—50, also §§ 285—6. To the same source (§ 206—§ 207) he goes for an answer to Theopompus's stricture

on the pusillanimity of the Athenians, and also for an explanation (§ 3) of the real motive which led Demosthenes to promote psephisms under another person's name, against the unjust construction put upon his so doing by Aeschines, *Ctes.* § 159.

c. 22, 1, 2. The account of the conduct and language of Demosthenes after he had received private intelligence of the assassination of Philip is taken from Aeschines *Ctes.* §§ 77—78, 160, supplemented from Theopompus (?) in one particular, viz. the proposal to reward the assassin with a crown.

F. c. 23—c. 26. Position of Demosthenes after the accession of Alexander. Upon the death of Philip, Demosthenes, who ruled supreme in the popular assembly, tried to rouse the Greeks to form a new coalition against Macedonia. He supplied the Theban leaders with arms and subsidies underhand, which enabled them to make an attempt to recover the Cadmea, and he endeavoured to commit the state to a renewal of the war. He also tried to open communication with the Persian generals in Asia Minor. But the rapid movements of Alexander did not leave them time to get over their attitude of expectation, the orator's appeal was silenced, his courage extinguished, and the Thebans were left to their fate (c. 23, 1—2).

The destruction of Thebes produced a feeling of unmitigated terror and perplexity at Athens. They resolved on sending ambassadors to Alexander, and chose Demosthenes for one, but he did not accompany the legation further than the frontier. Alexander demanded the extradition of eight (some say, ten) of the leading politicians, including Demosthenes and Lycurgus.

It was to this occasion that Demosthenes applied the old fable of the wolves requiring the sheep to make over to them their protecting dogs as a condition of peace, and then forthwith devouring the unprotected sheep; and he claimed for himself and those demanded along with him the protection of the people, in whose cause

alone they had incurred the wrath of the conqueror. He insisted, moreover, that their surrender was only a sample of the fate which would befall the whole body of citizens (§ 3—§ 4). While the Athenians were deliberating whether or not they should accede to Alexander's demand, Demades made a successful appeal to Alexander's generosity not to insist upon it (§ 5), and reconciled him to the city. Henceforward Demades and the Macedonian party were in the ascendant. Demosthenes made a feeble effort in sympathy with Agis the king of Sparta, when he got up an anti-Macedonian movement in the Peloponnese; but the movement was promptly suppressed by Antipater, since the Athenians would not commit themselves to it, Agis fell a victim, and the Spartans were utterly defeated (c. 24, 1).

The account of the combined movement in Greece after Philip's death (c. 23, 1, 2) is from Aeschines (*Ctes.* § 160—1), with details supplemented from some other unknown writer—not Theopompus, because his history ended with the death of Philip. Diodorus Sic. (XVII 5) mentions an attempt to open communication also with Attalus the Macedonian commander in Asia Minor, but nothing is known about his authority for the statement.

§ 3. On the mission of Athenian envoys to Alexander and the return of Demosthenes, which Aeschines *Ctes.* (§ 161) branded as a cowardly desertion, Plutarch's authority must have been one of the historians of the period of Alexander, in whose compilation varying accounts were given of the names of those whose extradition was demanded. Only one of these authors—Aristobulus of Cassandrea—is mentioned. c. 24, 1 is from the same source as c. 15.

It was about the same time that Aeschines decided to bring on at last to actual trial the indictment against Ctesiphon—a formal entry of which had been made ten years before—for unconstitutional proceeding in proposing that a golden crown be voted to Demosthenes in token of approbation of his public services. The object was to prevent the *probouleuma* from passing into

a *psephism* and the crown from being conferred. Never did any public cause create a greater sensation both on account of the eminence of the opposed parties, and of the generous courage of the judges, who did not disavow their great and patriotic citizen but, though his accusers were in the height of power and partizans of the Macedonians, refused to give judgment against him, and ratified the motion of Ctesiphon so triumphantly and by such a large majority that Aeschines failed to obtain one fifth of their suffrages. Aeschines left Athens rather than pay the fine to which he became liable for malicious prosecution, and retired to Asia, whence he never returned (c. 24, 1, 2).

The arrival of Harpalus, the receiver-general of Alexander in Asia, with his treasures and armament—who, flattering himself that Alexander would never return from India, had indulged in every species of extravagance and proved faithless to the trust committed to him—gave, as some thought, the desired opportunity for throwing off the Macedonian yoke. He asked to be admitted into the city, seeking protection against the wrath of Alexander. A debate ensued and, while the other politicians advocated his reception, Demosthenes, for once in accord with Phocion, at first opposed it as rash and dangerous to the city. But, in the course of a few days, he changed his mind, unable to resist the temptation of a bribe—a golden cup with twenty talents, according to the story,—and went over to Harpalus' interest. When he appeared next day in the assembly, where the case was still under consideration, he pretended to have lost his voice and thereby exposed himself to the sarcastic taunts of facetious bystanders. Afterwards, when the affair of the bribe had got wind, the people would not allow him to speak in self-defence (c. 25, 1—5). There was a great sensation created at Athens; Harpalus was

immediately sent off, and as they feared to be called to account by the Macedonians for the money purloined by the speakers—who were in such bad repute that their very name was synonymous with greed and venality—a strict inquiry was instituted (§ 6), and a house to house search. On the motion of Demosthenes, the investigation of the subject was referred to the Areopagus. Their report after an enquiry of six months was made the basis of legal proceedings. The case was tried before a dicastery consisting of 1500 persons, who confirmed the report of the Areopagus establishing the culpability of Demosthenes as having received some of the Harpalic money and condemning him to pay a fine of fifty talents. He was thrown into prison as a state debtor, since he could not or would not pay such an exorbitant sum. After a few days he found means to escape, with the connivance of the magistrates, to Troezen. Anecdote concerning the offer of assistance made to him by some of his late adversaries (c. 26, 1—3). Demosthenes passed some months of exile at Aegina and Troezen, cowed in spirit and smarting under the sense of popular ingratitude. Some sayings of his remain upon record, which betray a want of rational firmness and generosity and are out of keeping with the spirited sayings and doings, which distinguished his past administration (§ 4—§ 5).

c. 25. Plutarch found the story of the Harpalian affair in his original authority, by whom it was taken chiefly from the Speech of Hypereides against Demosthenes. The story of the cup may have been borrowed from the Ἀποφθέγματα of Lynceus, a pupil of Theophrastus and brother of Duris the historian (Athenae. VI 245 f). The story in § 4, which Aul. Gellius (see n. *ad l.*) relates of a different set of persons and a different occasion, may, for all we know, have been altered and adapted by Plutarch. As to the passage quoted § 6 from Theopompus, it must have been contained in one of his numerous digressions, like the story of Antiphon (c. 14, 9), and not in the regular course of his history, for reasons assigned above.

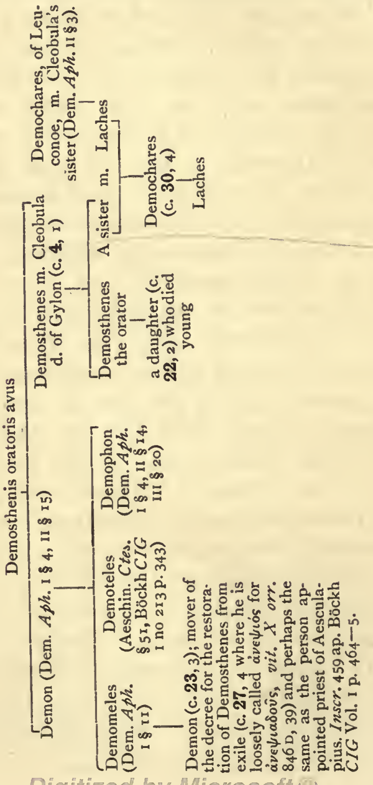
c. 26. The account of the flight of Demosthenes, after the unfavourable report of the Areopagus, must be from the original source. The story in § 2 l. 14—§ 3 is in the *vit. X orr.* told of Aeschines.

G. c. 27—c. 31. Demosthenes after the death of Alexander. The struggle for independence was renewed in Greece. The brave Leosthenes and the eloquent Hypereides placed themselves at the head of the movement. Antipater was shut up in Lamia by the former. Pytheas and Callimedon fled from Athens and joined Antipater and his friends in trying to check the intended uprising throughout Greece, while on the other side Demosthenes, still in exile, forgot his personal wrongs in the interests of a great cause and became reconciled to Hypereides. He voluntarily exerted himself with success in support of the Athenian embassies sent to recruit for the anti-Macedonian league in Peloponnesus. Story of a rencounter between him and Pytheas in Arcadia at a public assembly (c. 27, 1—4 l. 28). The Athenian people were so pleased with the service thus rendered by Demosthenes, that they passed a vote for his recal, on the motion of his cousin's son* Demon[45], and sent a trireme to fetch him from Aegina. His return was a greater triumph than that of Alcibiades; the people, with the archons and priests at their head, received him, on landing at Peiraeus, with great enthusiasm, and the assembly voted him fifty talents for certain duties connected with a sacrifice to Zeus the saviour, as the only constitutional way in which they could cancel the fine which was still due (§ 4 l. 28—§ 6). But the joy of his return was only transient. After glorious success, the army of liberty was defeated at Crannon, and the march of Antipater and Craterus upon Athens drove the patriotic party again to despair. Demosthenes, Hypereides

* See note 45 on next page.

and two others of the party fled. The assembly—overawed by the presence of the garrison at Munychia—were forced to sacrifice them to the exigency of the situation, and, on the motion of Demades, sentenced them to death in their absence. Antipater sent his officers, with the blood-hound Archias, formerly an actor, at their head, to track and seize the exiles. Three of them took refuge in the

[45] The following pedigree will explain the relationship:—



sanctuary of the Aeaceion at Aegina, out of which they were dragged and sent to Antipater at Cleonae, and there put to death (c. 28, 1—4).

Demosthenes was the only one of the proscribed who was not carried alive to the presence of Antipater, to be subjected to vindictive tortures. The temple of Poseidon on the small island of Calauria was selected by him; but the sacredness of the asylum did not shield him from the brutal exile-hunter who pursued him to his retreat, and tried to persuade him to leave it voluntarily, under promise of good treatment. Demosthenes, however, had been forewarned in a dream and replied that, as he had never been moved by the acting of Archias, so he should not now be moved by his promises. Finding himself at the mercy of his enemies, he escaped their vengeance by swallowing the poison which he had for some time carried about his person; and when it began to take effect, he rose and telling Archias, in allusion to his former profession, that he might now play the part of Creon and fling his corpse away without sepulture, staggered to the altar in order not to pollute the temple by the presence of a corpse, and fell dead upon the ground (c. 29, 1—5).

There are different accounts of the way in which he poisoned himself; Demochares, his nephew, took advantage of the discrepancy to believe that he was taken away from the evil to come by the immediate favour of the Gods (c. 30, 1—4). Between forty and fifty years after his death the Athenians paid honour to his memory by erecting a statue of him in bronze, and granting to the eldest of his descendants in the male line the privilege of dining in the Prytaneum (§ 5). There was a story current at Athens about an incident which happened shortly before Plutarch's visit to the city, upon which a variety of epigrams were composed, all bearing on the incorruptibility of Demosthenes (c. 31, 1—2).

As for Demades, retributive justice pursued him into Macedonia (whither he had been sent to intercede with Antipater for the removal of the garrison from Munychia). He arrived at an unlucky moment for himself. Among the papers of the deceased Perdiccas a letter had been found written to him by Demades, inviting him to cross over and rescue the Greeks from their dependence on 'an old and rotten warp'—meaning Antipater. This letter gave great offence to Cassander, Antipater's son; who caused Demades with his son to be seized, and first had the son killed in the presence and embrace of his father, and then the father himself slain. His tragic end is a warning to traitors, who, as Demosthenes often in vain foretold, are the first to be hoist with their own petard (§ 3—§ 4).

In this division Plutarch appears to have followed the same authority as in cc. 4—10, c. 12 and most of c. 13, also cc. 15—18.

On some later Lives of Demosthenes

There are an unusual number of short Biographies or Memoirs of Demosthenes, all independent of each other—except that of Photius, and therefore all of more or less worth. They are all included in Anton Westermann's Βιογράφοι or *Vitarum Scriptores Graeci minores*, Brunswig, 1845, pp. 230—311.

1. In the *Βίοι τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων*, falsely ascribed to Plutarch and printed amongst his collected works.

2. In Photius, the famous patriarch of Constantinople (A.D. 857—879), in his Book of Excerpts called *Βιβλιοθήκη ἢ Μυριόβιβλος*.

The *Bibliotheca*—Photius' most important and valuable compilation and a monument of his immense erudition—contains a large number of works transcribed by him, in 280 codices or ms volumes, without any formal classification, of heathen and Christian writings promiscuously. Several valuable works are known to

us chiefly from his analyses or excerpts, e.g. the *Persica* and *Indica* of Ctesias in cod. LXXII; the *Parthica* and *Bithynica* of Arrian in codd. LIII, XCII—XCIII; the lost Books of Diodorus Siculus in cod. CCXLIV. Ballheimer[46] has attempted to shew that Photius' *Lives of the X orators* (codd. CCLIX—CCLXVIII), which have generally been regarded[47] as a repetition of those of the Ps.-Plutarch, was really an independent work, although derived from the same source or sources. His theory has found favour with Sturm[48]. But M. Albert Martin[49] in a notice of his dissertation has proved conclusively that the work is nothing but a transcription of the Ps.-Plutarch, with sundry important omissions and variations of detail to suit the Patriarch's caprice.

3. By Libanius of Antioch (Syria) A.D. 314—393, the most distinguished sophist and rhetorician of the IVth century, and teacher of Basil and John Chrysostom, in his *Preface* to the arguments (*ὑποθέσεις*) of the Speeches of Demosthenes.

The Biography by Libanius is short and incomplete. He professed indeed *οὐχ ὅλον τὸν βίον τοῦ ῥήτορος διεξιέναι (περιττὸν γὰρ τοῦτο), ἀλλὰ τοσούτων μνημονεύειν ὅσα δοκεῖ καὶ πρὸς κατάληψιν ἀκριβεστέραν τῶν λόγων συντελεῖν.* But, even making this deduction, it is only a fragment, the last part having been lost. The Life itself contains scarcely anything, which is not already known either from Demosthenes himself or from Aeschines or Plutarch, but there are a few statements which shew that he must have consulted some other authorities besides, such as that about the non-attendance of Demosthenes at a palaestra, about Battalus and about the Speeches against his guardians.

[46] *de Photii vitis decem Oratorum* dissertatio philologica. Bonn, 1877, 8vo, 40 pp.

[47] As by A. Westermann (*Biogr.* p. XVI), A. Schäfer and Fr. Blass. J. Taylor, the Cambridge scholar, on the other hand, held the absurd opinion that they were copied by the Pseudo-Plutarch, whereas they belong to a much later period, as is patent from the references which they contain to such authors as Aristides, Libanius, Longinus, Aspasius, Paullus Mysius.

[48] *de fontibus Demosthenicae historiae quaestiones duae*, p. 31 sqq. Halle, 1881.

[49] *Revue critique d'Histoire et de Littérature* 1879, Tome VIII Art 211 pp. 347—350.

Libanius was a prolific writer. We have of his 47 *προγυμνάσματα*, 36 *διηγήματα*, 27 *ἠθοποιΐαι* or 'character sketches,' 33 *ἐκφράσεις* or 'descriptions of works of art,' 50 *μελέται* or 'declamations' and exercises on imaginary theses after the manner of his age, 68 speeches, among the best of which are the *Βασιλικός* in praise of the Emperors Constans and Constantius, the *Ἀντιοχικός* in praise of Antioch and its inhabitants, the *προσφωνητικός* or 'an address of welcome' to the Emperor Julian on his visit to Antioch. Not the least interesting of his compositions are his Letters, of which we possess as many as 1607 in the original and 400 in a Latin translation. These are invaluable as throwing a light on contemporary history.

4. By Lucian (dub.), in the *Δημοσθένους ἐγκώμιον*. After a brief dialogue between one Thersagoras and another interlocutor on the comparative merits of Homer and Demosthenes, the latter speaks of a book, which he had acquired, containing records of the royal house of Macedonia, and in particular of a dialogue between Antipater and his blood-hound Archias, in which the former bestows lavish praise on Demosthenes and quotes conversations between king Philip and Parmenion and between the king and himself in evidence of Philip's great admiration of the orator.

5. By Zosimus of Ascalon, a rhetorician and grammarian of the vth century A.D., not to be confounded with the historian of the same name. This and the following (6) were printed for the first time in Reiske's *Oratores graeci* IV pp. 145—159.

6. By Anonymus.

7. By Suidas, the lexicographer of the XIth (?) century A.D., who gives three different short sketches of the orator's Life. The first of the three is from the *Ὀνοματολόγος* of Hesychius of Miletus[50], who lived at the end

[50] i.e. including the letter of Philip, which is strangely reckoned among the speeches. The ancients (*vit. X orr.* 847 E, 58, Photius *Bibl.* p. 490) speak of 65 λόγοι γνήσιοι.

of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century A.D. (See Flach's edition, p. 49 no. 189.)

Both 5 and 6 are, as A. Westermann (*Qu. Dem.* IV p. 88—92) indicates, made up of the speeches of Demosthenes and Aeschines, together with the *Life* by Plutarch and those drawn up by others; the author, from whom the third part of 7 is an excerpt, resembles 6 with a few unimportant variations, as where Archias is called in 7 an *ὑποκριτής*, in 6 an *ὑπασπιστής*, and it is said of Demosthenes that he was *τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀσθενής* and *τὸν ὦμον ἀπρεπῶς ἐκίνει*. In these and other minor details the writer agrees with Zosimus, who differs from all the other biographers in making Demosthenes shave off half of his beard instead of his hair. All three follow the rhetorical tradition about Demosthenes having been a *λογογράφος*, *σοφιστής* and *πολιτικός*, although they differ in the order of their statements. The account of his death given by all three corresponds to that in *vit. X orr.* 847 B, 48 *οἱ δ' εἶπον τοῦ κατὰ τὴν σφραγῖδα φαρμάκου γευσάμενον ἀποθανεῖν*, but in 7 it is given in an abridged form.

List of the works of Demosthenes

The tables (*πίνακες*) drawn up by the *savants* in charge of the great libraries of Alexandria and Pergamum, particularly those by Callimachus, constituted the basis of ancient bibliography. But, accepted as a whole, they were contested in detail and we find Dionysius of Halicarnassus, as well as the other men of letters who had made a special study of Demosthenes, deviating from them. Dionysius admitted only twenty-two harangues and public speeches and twenty speeches in private causes as authentic out of the whole number of writings which have come down to us. These are divided into three groups:—

I The deliberative or political (*συμβουλευτικοὶ λόγοι* or *δημηγορίαι*, c. 12, 1)

II The judicial or forensic (*δικανικοὶ λόγοι*)

(A) in public causes (*δημόσιοι*)

(B) in private causes (*ἰδιωτικοί*)

III The demonstrative or show speeches (*ἐπιδεικτικοὶ λόγοι*)

Those to which an asterisk * is prefixed were considered of doubtful authority by ancient critics; those with a † are rejected by Blass and other modern critics. (The extant speech *περὶ Ἁλοννήσου* is by Hegesippus, the fourth *κατὰ Φιλίππου* is a rhetorical forgery.)

I. *orr.* I—XII (*Φιλιππικοί*).

†*or.* XIII *περὶ τῆς συντάξεως*, 'on financial organisation.'
or. XIV *περὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν* (Dionys. *Rhetor.* VIII c. 6).
or. XV *ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥοδίων ἐλευθερίας.*
or. XVI *ὑπὲρ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν.*
*†*or.* XVII *περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον συνθηκῶν.*

II *A.* Speeches in public causes (*δικανικοὶ δημόσιοι*):—

or. XVIII *περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου* (*ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος*).
or. XIX *περὶ τῆς παραπρεσβείας* (*κατ' Αἰσχίνου*).
or. XX *περὶ τῆς ἀτελείας πρὸς Λεπτίνην.*
or. XXI *κατὰ Μειδίου περὶ τοῦ κονδύλου.*
or. XXII *κατ' Ἀνδροτίωνος παρανόμων.*
or. XXIII *κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους.*
or. XXIV *κατὰ Τιμοκράτους.*
*†*or.* XXV *κατ' Ἀριστογείτονος α'.*
*†*or.* XXVI „ „ *β'.*
*†*or.* LIX *κατὰ Νεαίρας.*
*†*or.* LVIII *ἔνδειξις κατὰ Θεοκρίνου*[51].
or. LVII *πρὸς Εὐβουλίδην ἔφεσις* (Dionysius, however, classes it with the *ἰδιωτικοί*).

B. Speeches in private causes (*ἰδιωτικοί*):—

orr. XXVII—XXXI (*ἐπιτροπικοί*):—*κατὰ Ἀφόβου* I II; †*πρὸς Ἄφοβον ψευδομαρτυριῶν Φάνῳ* (incorrectly, according to Blass, regarded by Westermann, A. Schäfer and others as a rhetorical forgery); *πρὸς Ὀνήτορα ἐξούλης* I, II.
orr. XXXII—XXXVIII (*παραγραφικοί*):—†*πρὸς Ζηνόθεμιν*; †*πρὸς Ἀπατούριον*; †*πρὸς Φορμίωνα περὶ δανείου*; *†*πρὸς τὴν Λα-*

[51] *τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐν τοῖς ἰδιωτικοῖς ἀναγράφουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ δημόσιον ὄντα φανερῶς* (*Libanius*). Dionys. *de Dinarcho iud.* c. 10 indicates its true nature, though he ascribes it to Dinarchus.

κρίτου παραγραφήν; ὑπὲρ Φορμίωνος (the most famous); πρὸς Πανταίνετον; πρὸς Ναυσίμαχον καὶ Ξενοπείθην.

orr. XXXIX—XLIV (διαδικασίαι):—*πρὸς Βοιωτὸν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος; *†πρὸς Βοιωτὸν (Μαντίθεον?) ὑπὲρ προικὸς μητρῴας; πρὸς Σπουδίαν ὑπὲρ προικός; *†πρὸς Φαίνιππον περὶ ἀντιδόσεως; †πρὸς Μακάρτατον περὶ τοῦ Ἁγνίου κλήρου; †πρὸς Λεωχάρην περὶ τοῦ (Ἀρχιάδου) κλήρου.

orr. XLV—XLVII (ψευδομαρτυριῶν): κατὰ Στεφάνου α΄; †κατὰ Στεφάνου β΄; *†κατ᾽ Εὐέργου καὶ Μνησιβούλου ψευδομαρτυριῶν.

orr. XLIX—LIII, delivered by Apollodorus; *†πρὸς Τιμόθεον ὑπὲρ χρέως; †πρὸς Πολυκλέα περὶ τοῦ ἐπιτριαρχήματος; περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου τῆς τριηραρχίας; †πρὸς Κάλλιππον; *†πρὸς Νικόστρατον (which ought rather to be classed among the δημόσιοι λόγοι).

or. LIV κατὰ Κόνωνος αἰκίας.

orr. LV, LVI, XLVIII (βλαβῆς): πρὸς Καλλικλέα περὶ χωρίου; *†κατὰ Διονυσοδώρου; †κατ᾽ Ὀλυμπιοδώρου.

III *†*or.* LX ἐπιτάφιος (partly a cento from the *Menexenus* of Plato. Dionysius vol. 6 p. 1095 ed. Reiske calls it φορτικὸς καὶ κενὸς καὶ παιδαριώδης).

*†*or.* LXI ἐρωτικός (a panegyric of one Epicrates).

Of the six Epistles[52] attributed to Demosthenes four at least are to be considered forgeries; they were used by the composer of the twelve Epistles which bear the name of Aeschines: Blass (Demosth. 1 p. 48) considers that the second (περὶ τῆς ἰδίας καθόδου), and third (περὶ τῶν Λυκούργου παίδων) are genuine. Cicero (*Or.* § 15, *Brut.* § 121) appears to have regarded the fifth (πρὸς Ἡρακλεόδωρον) as genuine. The 56 προοίμια, *exordia* or sketches for political speeches, are by various hands and of various dates. If not genuine, they are valuable as being compiled from Demosthenes himself or from other classical models.

[52] The greater part of the third of the Epistles attributed to Demosthenes forms one (CXXXIII) of the 'Classical Texts from papyri in the British Museum etc. edited by F. G. Kenyon M.A. 1891.' It is contained in the same roll as that of the fragment of an oration κατὰ Φιλιππίδου by Hypereides (?)

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF EVENTS IN THE LIFE-TIME OF DEMOSTHENES

N.B. *The Numerals in heavy type refer to* Chapter *and* Section *of the Text*

B.C.	AET. DEM.	
384		Ol. 99. 1. *Diitrephes.* Birth of DEMOSTHENES twenty years after the termination of the Peloponnesian War, when Greece was reposing under the Peace of Antalcidas and the power of Sparta had reached its height. *Birth of Aristotle. Plato* (c. **5**, 5) *aet.* 45.
383		Cotys (c. **9**, 1; c. **23**, 3 note) king of the Odrysian Thracians (—359).
	1	Ol. 99. 2. *Phanostratus.* Seizure of the Cadmea (Thebes) by the Spartans under Phoebidas, when he was on his way to reinforce his brother Eudamidas in his operations against Olynthus. *Antiphanes* (*c.* **9**, 5) *begins to exhibit.*
382	2	Ol. 99. 3. *Euandros.* King Amyntas (B.C. 389—370) restored to Macedonia—from which he had been driven by Argaeus, a claimant to the throne—with the support of Sparta and Athens. First campaign of the Olynthian war (—379). Birth of Philip, third son of Amyntas III and Eurydice.
381	3	Ol. 99. 4. *Demophilus.* Teleutias, brother of Agesilaus, slain by the Olynthians.
380	4	Ol. 100. 1. *Pytheas.* Siege of Phlius by Agesilaus. *Isocratis* (*c.* **5**, 4) *Πανηγυρικός.* *Birth of Ephorus and Theopompus about this time.*
379	5	Ol. 100. 2. *Nicon.* The Olynthians submit to join the Peloponnesian confederacy under Spartan hegemony. Surrender of Phlius after a siege of twenty months.

B.C.	AET. DEM.	
		Liberation of Thebes and recovery of the Cadmea by the Theban exiles from Athens (*Mor.* 575 A, 598 F).
378		Cleombrotus and Agesilaus successively invade Boeotia.
		Attempt of Sphodrias to surprise the Piraeus.
		The Athenians join with the Boeotians against Sparta.
	6	Ol. 100. 3. *Nausinicus.*
		Preparation at Athens for war with Sparta. Division of the people for the levying of the war-tax (εἰσφορά) into συμμορίαι, graded according to income. New naval confederacy (—357).
		Death of the orator Lysias.
377		Timotheus liberates Euboea.
		Second expedition of Agesilaus into Boeotia.
		Reorganisation of the Boeotian confederacy by Thebes.
	7	Ol. 100. 4. *Calleas.*
		Oreus (Euboea) revolts from Sparta.
376		Second expedition of Cleombrotus into Boeotia.
		End of war between Evagoras of Cyprus and Artaxerxes.
	8	Ol. 101. 1. *Charisandros.*
		Death of Demosthenes, father of the orator (c. **4**, 2), ten years before his son's δοκιμασία.
		Victory of Chabrias over the Peloponnesian fleet,—sent out to intercept the corn-ships bound for Athens,—at Naxos (Sept. 9th). This terminates the Spartan προστασία. Phocion earns distinction in this engagement.
375		The Athenians under Timotheus extend their naval supremacy in the Ionian sea; Corcyra and other cities join their league.
	9	Ol. 101. 2. *Hippodamas.*
		The Thebans reduce the Boeotians to subjection.
374		The Phocians invaded by the Thebans: Cleombrotus despatched to the aid of the Phocians.
		The short peace between Athens and Sparta broken off by the forcible restoration of some Zacynthian exiles by Timotheus on his return from Corcyra.
		Jason of Pherae becomes *tagos* of Thessaly (—370 B.C.).
	10	Ol. 101. 3. *Socratides.*
		Spartan fleet under Mnesippus sent to recover Corcyra.
373		Corcyra invested by the Spartans.
	11	Ol. 101. 4. *Astius.*
		Successful naval expedition of Iphicrates (who supersedes Timotheus) with Callistratus and Chabrias to Corcyra, by which the supremacy of Athens in the Ionian sea is restored and strengthened.

B.C.	AET. DEM.	
		Plataeae destroyed by the Thebans. The inhabitants driven to Athens, where they are admitted as citizens.
		Isocratis Πλαταϊκός.
		Oropus (c. **5**, 1) belonged at this time to Athens.
		Timotheus is prosecuted by Callistratus (c. **5**, 1) and Iphicrates.
372		Timotheus enters the service of the King of Persia.
	12	Ol. 102. 1. *Alcisthenes.*
371		Congress at Sparta, at which it was resolved to re-establish a universal peace on the basis of the independence of the Greek towns. Callistratus (c. **5**, 1) and his political opponent Melanopus (c. **13**, 2) are present, the latter as ambassador.
	13	Ol. 102. 2. *Phrasiclides.*
		Peace of Callias, from which the Thebans, refusing through their representative Epaminondas to acknowledge the independence of the other Boeotian towns, are excluded. The result was war between Sparta and Thebes, ending in the total defeat of the Spartans and fall of Cleombrotus at Leuctra (July 7th).
		The nine years from Leuctra to Mantinea (B.C. 362) were marked by Theban aggrandisement and an attempt to arrest the disintegrating forces, which had distinguished Spartan policy since 387 B.C.
370		Dissolution of the Spartan Confederation.
		New Congress at Athens.
	14	Ol. 102. 3. *Dysnicetus.*
		The assassination of Jason of Pherae leaves the Theban power without a rival in the north of Greece.
		Death of Amyntas III. His eldest son Alexander II succeeds him as king (—368 B.C.). Death of Agesipolis king of Sparta.
		Mantinea, which had been dismantled by the Spartans, is rebuilt.
		First Invasion of the Peloponnesus by Epaminondas.
		The History of Duris Samius begins.
369		First Invasion of Laconia by Epaminondas. On his return, he assists in building Megalopolis, on the Helisson, as the centre of a new Pan-Arcadian state, independent of Sparta, and in founding Messene—at the foot of Ithome, the old stronghold of the Messenians—which thereafter became a perpetual source of trouble to Sparta.
		Treaty between Athens and Sparta.
	15	Ol. 102. 4. *Lysistratus.*
		Second Invasion of the Peloponnesus by the Thebans under Epaminondas to protect the new states there.

B.C.	AET. DEM.	
		Pelopidas supports the Thessalian towns against the cruel Alexander of Pherae, who became *tagos* (—359) on the murder of Polyphron, and after driving out the Macedonian garrisons proceeds to Macedonia. [Demosth.] *or.* 2 πρὸς Κάλλιππον.
368	16	Ol. 103. 1. *Nausigenes.*
		Alexander II of Macedon murdered by the usurper Ptolemaeus, who with Eurydice reigns as the guardian of his brother Perdiccas (—365 B.C.).
		Archidamus gains the 'tearless victory' over the Arcadians.
		Pelopidas settles the contest for the Macedonian throne, by giving the kingdom of Macedonia to Alexander and Bottiaea to Ptolemaeus, son-in-law of the Queen-dowager. He takes from the former thirty sons of the chief families of Macedon as sureties for his good conduct; amongst others his youngest brother Philip, now in his fourteenth year, who remained at Thebes three years until his brother Perdiccas succeeded to the throne.
367		Death of Dionysius the elder of Syracuse.
		Project of a general peace under Persian influence and the leadership of Thebes.
	17	Ol. 103. 2. *Polyzelus.*
		Pelopidas goes on an embassy to Susa and induces the King to take Amphipolis under his protection.
		Third Invasion of the Peloponnesus by Epaminondas.
		State congress at Thebes; the Greek states refuse to accept the dictation of Persia.
366		*Aristotle comes to Athens. Anaximenes fl.* (*c.* **28**, 3).
		Recovery of Oropus by the Oropian refugees with the aid of Themison tyrant of Eretria, and the Thebans (c. **5**, 1).
	18	Ol. 103. 3. *Cephisodorus.*
		Demosthenes passes his δοκιμασία (*c.* **6**, 1). *He begins his studies under Isaeus* (*c.* **6**, 4).
		A separate alliance between Athens and Arcadia.
365		Timotheus conquers Samos, to which a body of cleruchs is sent.
		Epidaurus, Phlius and Corinth conclude a separate peace with Thebes.
		Isocratis Ἀρχίδαμος *written to urge upon the Spartans the recovery of Messenia.*
		Feud between Elis and Arcadia.
	19	Ol. 103. 4. *Chion.*
		Callistratus (c. **5**, 1) and Chabrias impeached by Leodamas for the Oropus affair.
		Perdiccas revenges on Ptolemaeus the death of his eldest brother and becomes King of Macedonia (—B.C. 359).

B.C.	AET. DEM.	
		The Amphipolitans negotiate with Iphicrates for the surrender of their town—which the Athenians had striven in vain to recover since it was lost to them in B.C. 424—and give him hostages; but he, being recalled, delivers the hostages to Charidemus (c. **23**, 3) who, on entering the service of King Cotys B.C. 360, sends the hostages back to Amphipolis.
364	20	Ol. 104. 1. *Timocrates.*
		[According to Dionysius *Ep. ad Ammae.* c. 4 Demosth. was in his 17th year only in the archonship of Timocrates.]
		Second campaign of the war between Arcadia and Elis. The Arcadians defeat Archidamus and attempt to exclude the Eleans from the presidency of the games. Battle of Olympia during the games.
		Iphicrates who had held the Thracian command for three years is superseded by Timotheus, with whom Perdiccas arranges an attack on Olynthus and the Chalcidian league. Timotheus takes Methone, Pydna, Potidaea and Torone, but not Amphipolis, which remains still independent of Athens, the hostages having been returned (B.C. 365).
		Theban help invited by the Thessalian autonomous towns against Alexander of Pherae. He is defeated but Pelopidas falls in battle against him at Cynoscephalae.
		Extension of the hegemony of the Thebans over Thessaly: they destroy Orchomenus during the absence of Epaminondas.
363		*Demosthenes commences his suit against one of his guardians, pleading his own case: or.* 27 κατὰ Ἀφόβου α', *or.* 28 κατὰ Ἀφόβου β' (*c.* **6**, 1), *or.* 29 πρὸς Ἄφοβον ψευδομαρτυριῶν (*c.* **6**, 1 *n.*). (Ἐγὼ δ' εὐθὺς δοκιμασθεὶς ἐνεκάλουν καὶ λόγον ἀπῄτουν καὶ πάντων ἀποστερούμενος τὰς δίκας ἐλάγχανον ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄρχοντος (*sc.* Τιμοκράτους) *or. c. Onet.* § 15.)
		Schism among the Arcadians arising out of the possession of Olympia and the misapplication of the temple-treasures there.
	21	Ol. 104. 2. *Charicleides.*
362		Return of Timotheus to Athens from his campaign against Cotys.
	22	Ol. 104. 3. *Molon.*
		Prosecution of Timotheus by Apollodorus for the recovery of a debt. [*Demosth.*] *or.* 49 πρὸς Τιμόθεον ὑπὲρ χρέως (c. **15**, 1).
		Fourth and last expedition of Epaminondas into the Peloponnesus brought about by the war between Elis and Arcadia. Battle of Mantinea, at which Aeschines (*aet.* 27) is present.

B.C.	AET. DEM.	
		Epaminondas (c. **20**, 1) is slain, but the Thebans do not follow up their victory.
		General peace; the Spartans alone ἔκσπονδοι, because they object to the inclusion of the Messenians.
		Autocles, Athenian commander in the Hellespont.
		Xenophon's Ἑλληνικά *ends with the battle of Mantinea.*
		Demosthenis ἰδιωτικοὶ λόγοι, *or.* 30 πρὸς Ὀνήτορα α′, *or.* 31 πρὸς Ὀνήτορα β′ (*c.* **6**, 1 *n.*).
		361—338. The Struggle with King Philip.
		The war of the allies (which served to rob Athens of the means to oppose Philip), and the Sacred War (by which the power just won by Thebes was broken), and the advances of Philip up to his first expedition against Greece.
361	23	Ol. 104. 4. *Nicophemus.*
		Flight of Leosthenes and Callistratus (c. **5**, 1) from Athens.
		Demosth. or. 41 πρὸς Σπουδίαν; *or.* 55 πρὸς Καλλικλέα; *or.* 51 περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου τῆς τριηραρχίας.
		Birth of Dinarchus the orator (*c.* **31**, 4).
		Agesilaus dies on his return from Egypt.
		Archidamus becomes King of Sparta (—B.C. 338).
360		Cotys takes possession of the Chersonese and Sestos. Autocles (Hypereidis *or.* κατ' Αὐτοκλέους), Menon, Timomachus, Callippus put on their trial for neglect.
		Samos re-appropriated to Athens by Timotheus.
		The Athenian generals Chares, Charidemus (c. **23**, 3) and Phocion support Orontes, satrap of Mysia, against the Persian king Artaxerxes II.
	24	Ol. 105. 1. *Callimedes.*
		Repulse of Timotheus at Amphipolis (Dem. *Aristocr.* § 149), which receives succour from Macedonia and Olynthus.
		Theopompus begins his Φιλιππικά *from this year* (Diod. XVI. 3).
		[*Demosth.*] *or.* 50 πρὸς Πολυκλέα (Butcher p. 22).
		Charidemus enters the service of Cotys, king of the Thracian Odrysae, and, after that king's assassination (B.C. 359), supports his son Cersobleptes (c. **23**, 3 note).
359		Assassination of Alexander of Pherae.
		Perdiccas III is slain in battle against the Illyrians. Philip II (*aet.* 23) rids himself of rival aspirants to the throne and becomes king (—B.C. 336).
		Recal of Cephisodotus from the Hellespont after his defeat by Charidemus. Demosth. served as trierarch under him.

B.C.	AET. DEM.	
	25	Ol. 105. 2. *Eucharistus.*
		Philip declares Amphipolis free and concludes peace and alliance with Athens.
358		Death of the Persian King Artaxerxes II (Μνήμων) B.C. 405 and accession of Artaxerxes III (Ὦχος) (—B.C. 338).
		Philip ἀπολυθεὶς τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου gains a great victory over the Paeonians and Illyrians.
	26	Ol. 105. 3. *Cephisodotus.*
		Nectanebus II King of Egypt (—B.C. 345).
357		Third form of the trierarchy brought in by the συμμορίαι of Periander.
	27	Ol. 105. 4. *Agathocles.*
		Euboea recovered by the Athenians from the Thebans, under whose control it had been since the battle of Leuctra (B.C. 371) (*Phil.* I § 17, *Ol.* I § 8, *Mid.* § 161, *de cor.* § 99, *Androt.* § 14, *de Cherson.* § 74 f, Aeschin. *Ctes.* § 85).
		The Thracian Chersonese, except Cardia, is finally handed over to Athens, after some opposition from Charidemus (c. **23**, 3 note).
		Philip takes Amphipolis. First war with Athens (—B.C. 346).
		Outbreak of the Social War (c. **17**, 2).
		The allies began to get tired of the new naval Confederacy formed at Athens (B.C. 378) which embraced about 70 maritime or inland cities under the 'tribute' (φόρος), which had been exchanged for the 'contribution' (σύνταξις). Chios, Cos, Rhodes and Byzantium are the first to revolt openly. They are supported by Maussolus, prince of Caria. Siege of Chios by Chares (c. **23**, 3) and Chabrias, who is killed, while attempting to force his way into the harbour.
		Philip takes Pydna in the autumn and contracts an alliance with the Olynthians, after their overtures to Athens had been rejected.
		Seizure of Delphi by the Phocians under Philomelus.
356		Potidaea handed over to the Olynthians by Philip.
		He founds a new city, Philippi, which enables him to work the gold mines of Mount Pangaeus and to introduce a gold coinage into Greece for the payment of his agents and the maintenance of his wars.
	28	Ol. 106. 1. *Elpines.*
		Philip obtains an Olympic victory in the chariot race.
		Second campaign of the Social War.
		Defeat of the Illyrians by Philip.
		Birth of Alexander the Great at Pella, July 21 (c. **23**, 2).

B.C.	AET. DEM.	

The Athenians lose Methone, their last town on the Macedonian coast. Chares defeats a Persian force.

Demosthenis or. 54 κατὰ Κόνωνος αἰκίας (?).

355 *Isocratis or.* 8 περὶ τῆς Εἰρήνης; *or.* 7 Ἀρεοπαγιτικός.

Callistratus still an exile in the Chersonese (c. **5**, 1).

Outbreak of the Phocian or Second Sacred War (—346) [c. **12**, 1; c. **17**, 5; c. **18**, 2]. Philomelus makes himself master of the temple at Delphi.

Oligarchies established at Chios, Cos and Rhodes.

29 Ol. 106. 2. *Callistratus.*

Third campaign of the Social War. Peace with the confederates promoted by Eubulus. They obtain independence and there is henceforth no effective control over the Aegean waters, which are overrun by corsairs, and preyed on by Persia or the tyrants of the Asiatic coasts (Diod. XVI cc. 21, 29).

Second epoch in the development of Demosthenes. Hitherto he had delivered speeches only in the law courts, as attorney; he now makes his appearance in public life with two speeches:—or. 22 κατὰ Ἀνδροτίωνος παρανόμων δευτερολογία (c. **15**, 2) *composed for Diodorus* (Butcher, p. 31—2, Dionys. *I. Ep. ad Ammae.* c. 4 δημοσίους δὲ λόγους ἤρξατο γράφειν ἐπὶ Καλλιστράτου ἄρχοντος, κἄστιν αὐτοῦ πρῶτος τῶν εἰς δικαστήρια κατασκευασθέντων ἀγώνων ὁ κατὰ Ἀνδροτίωνος ὃν ἔγραψε Διοδώρῳ τῷ κρίνοντι τὸ ψήφισμα παρανόμων. καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἕτερος ὁ περὶ τῶν ἀτελειῶν, ὃν αὐτὸς διέθετο, χαριέστατος ἁπάντων τῶν λόγων καὶ γραφικώτατος), *and in* B.C. 354 *or.* 20 περὶ τῆς ἀτελείας πρὸς Λεπτίνην, *the first court speech on a political question delivered by him in person in the popular assembly. The arguments in both cases were directed against mischievous legislation. The first mention of Philip by Demosthenes is in the latter of these two speeches.*

30 Ol. 106. 3. *Diotimus.*

354 Trial and condemnation of Timotheus. He dies soon after at Chalcis (Euboea).

Callistratus (c. **5**, 1) returns to Athens.

Law of Eubulus, steward of the treasury, for making the festival fund (τὸ θεωρικόν) a first charge on the revenue, so that it could not be appropriated to war purposes (Butcher p. 16 f, p. 57, p. 64). The renunciation of foreign politics, the encouragement of home industry, and the comfort and amusement of the citizens were the chief objects of his financial system.

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		Other members of the peace party were Phocion (c. **14**, 1) and the pamphleteer Isocrates (c. **5**, 4).
		Demosth. or. 14 *περὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν* (*c.* **12**, 1), *his first δημηγορία or political harangue. Dionys. I. Ep. ad Ammaeum* c. 4 *ἐπὶ δὲ Διοτίμου τοῦ μετὰ Καλλίστρατον ἐν Ἀθηναίοις πρώτην εἶπε δημηγορίαν, ἣν ἐπιγράφουσιν οἱ τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς πίνακας συντάξαντες περὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν· ἐν ᾗ παρακαλεῖ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ λύειν τὴν πρὸς βασιλέα γενομένην εἰρήνην, μηδὲ προτέρους ἄρχειν τοῦ πολέμου, ἐὰν μὴ παρασκευάσωνται τὴν ναυτικὴν δύναμιν, ἐν ᾗ πλείστην εἶχον ἰσχύν, καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς παρασκευῆς αὐτὸς ὑποτίθεται.*
		Philomelus slain in an encounter with the Thebans. Onomarchus and Phayllus continue the war, making free use of the temple-treasures for payment of mercenaries.
353		Philip's first reconnoisance on the Thracian coastland. He takes Abdera and Maronea and lays siege to Methone, the only remaining possession of Athens on the Thermaic gulf. His hostile projects against Greece. He is defeated in Thessaly by Onomarchus.
	31	Ol. 106. 4. *Thudemus.*
		Chares subdues Sestos.
		Decree proposed by Aristocrates for the protection of Charidemus (c. **15**, 2).
		Isocratis or. 15 *περὶ ἀντιδόσεως πρὸς Λυσίμαχον.*
352		The Phocians defeated by Philip. Fall of Onomarchus.
		Philip, after being frustrated by the Athenians in his attempt to penetrate through Thermopylae into Greece, falls back and marches into Thrace. He dictates peace to Cersobleptes and makes alliance with Cardia, Perinthus and Byzantium (c. **17**, 2).
		[Henceforth it was against Macedon that Athens had to defend the Chersonese. Cp. under B.C. 342.]
		On his return he invades Chalcidice and threatens Olynthus.
		Demosth. or. 16 *ὑπὲρ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν* (*in which he supports the petition of the Arcadians, not to allow Megalopolis to be broken up* (Butcher p. 40—1) *by Sparta*); *or.* 24 *κατὰ Τιμοκράτους* (*c.* **15**, 2, Butcher p. 45—6).
		[Dionys. *I. Ep. ad Amm.* c. 4 places these two speeches in the archonship of Thudemus.]
	32	Ol. 107. 1. *Aristodemus.*
		Struggles in the Peloponnesus. Megalopolis, the new city into which were incorporated the scattered villages of the Arcadian league (B.C. 369), being menaced by Sparta and unable to look to her natural protector Thebes, applies to Athens for aid.

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		The Athenians stand aloof from the contest between Sparta and Megalopolis. *Demosth. or.* 23 κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους (*c.* **13**, 4, *c.* **15**, 2, Butcher p. 46—9). *In this speech Demosth. speaks for the first time distinctly of Philip as the enemy of Athens.* Death of Maussolus, prince of Caria. Artemisia queen (—349).
351		*Demosth. or.* 4 κατὰ Φιλίππου α′ (*c.* **12**, 1; *c.* **13**, 4). *Demosth. or.* 45 πρὸς Στέφανον α′ (*c.* **15**, 1).
	33	Ol. 107. 2. *Theellus.*
350		Philip succeeds in breaking the alliance between Athens and Euboea, which had subsisted since B.C. 357. Plutarchus, tyrant of Eretria, invites the Athenians to support him against his subjects, who, led by Clitarchus, were trying to expel him. Phocion is sent with an army and wins a victory in the battle of Tamynae (c. **17**, 1 n., Dem. *Mid.* § 31, § 44) at which Aeschines was present. But the Ath. could not bear up against the resistance of the other Euboeans and Plutarchus himself deceived or betrayed them; so they left the island with ignominy and loss, and thenceforward it showed increasing favour to Philip.
	34	Ol. 107. 3. *Apollodorus.*
		Trial and condemnation of Apollodorus on a γραφὴ παρανόμων for proposing to apply the surplus revenue to war purposes instead of to the Theoricon. *or.* 36 ὑπὲρ Φορμίωνος παραγραφή.
349	35	Ol. 107. 4. *Callimachus.*
		Philip enters Chalcidice and besieges some of the confederate towns. *Demosth. or.* 1 Ὀλυνθιακὸς α′ (*c.* **12**, 1; *c.* **13**, 4). Chares is despatched with a small mercenary force in response to an embassy from Olynthus (Philochorus Ἀτθίς VI ap. Dionys. *I. Ep. ad Amm.* c. 9). *Demosth. or.* 2 Ὀλυνθιακὸς β′ (*c.* **12**, 1; *c.* **13**, 4, Butcher p. 67—70). [*In the first of these orations* § 154 *Dem. describes himself as* 32 *years of age at the period of his dispute with Midias* (δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη γέγονα). *In that case he must have been born* B.C. 381/2, *not* 384/3, *unless we suppose with Clinton a space of two years intervened between the* προβολή *and the publication of the oration so that the offence of Midias occurred really at the Dionysia of the archon Theellus Ol.* 107. 2, *in whose first month Demosth. completed his* 32*d year, or, with A. Schäfer* (I 269 *Note* 2), *consider* δύο *to be a transcriptional error for the numeral*

B.C.	AET. DEM.	
		sign $\overline{\Delta}=4$. F*or the orator's own statement in his Speech* κατὰ Ὀνή-τορος α΄ (§ 15—§ 17) *points to the conclusion that he must have been born Ol.* 99. 1, *and the conclusion derived from this statement is supposed to be confirmed by the recently-discovered Speech of Hypereides* Against Demosthenes *in the Harpalian affair* (*p.* 12 *ed. Blass*), *delivered Ol.* 114. 1, *in which Demosthenes is classed among* τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντα ἔτη; *so that he could not have been born after Ol.* 99. 1.]
		Stagira capitulates: Torone is taken and most of the Chalcidian towns make terms with Philip. A larger armament under Charidemus is ordered from the Hellespont to Olynthus. Chares returns to Athens.
348		Second year of the Olynthian War.
		Demosth. or. 3 Ὀλυνθιακὸς γ΄, *in which he attacks the administration of Eubulus and urges the application of the Festival Fund to war purposes* (*c.* **12**, 1; *c.* **13**, 4, Butcher p. 70—4).
		Philip lays siege to Olynthus. Third expedition under Chares, consisting of a native Athenian force, arrives too late to relieve it.
		Demosth. as χοραγός is insulted by Midias at the great Dionysia.
	36	Ol. 108. 1. *Theophilus.*
		Olynthus betrayed to Philip and levelled to the ground with her 32 confederate towns, and the inhabitants sold into slavery.
		Amid great rejoicings Philip celebrates his triumph by a festival at Dium in Pieria upon the Greek model (c. **7**, 1 n.).
		Sudden change in the policy of Eubulus. Embassies are sent in all quarters to unite the Greeks in a national war against Philip. Aeschines now comes into notice for the first time. He undertakes a mission to Arcadia for that purpose. At Megalopolis he denounces Philip as βάρβαρόν τε καὶ ἀλάστορα (Demosth. *f. l.* § 305). The summons to arms meets with no response. (Butcher p. 80.)
		Demosth. or. 15 ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥοδίων ἐλευθερίας (*another appeal against oppression for the Rhodian democratic exiles who asked to be reinstated, and besought Athens to aid them in throwing off the Carian yoke, though they had led the revolt against Athens*, Butcher p. 41—4); *or.* 39 πρὸς Βοιωτὸν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος.
347		*Death of Plato* (*c.* **5**, 5) *aet.* 82.
		Aristotle leaves Athens for Atarneus, the residence of Hermeias.
		Exhaustion of the Thebans and Phocians. The former appeal to Philip, the latter to Athens.

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	37	Ol. 108. 2. *Themistocles.*
		Philip pushes his conquests in Thrace and renews war with Cersobleptes. (See under B.C. 351, 353.) Demosthenes gets Chares sent to the coast of Thrace with an Athenian force.
		Mytilene returns to alliance with Athens.
		[Demosth.] or. 40 πρὸς Βοιωτὸν περὶ προικὸς μητρῴας.
		Anarchy in Phocis (Feb.). Proxenus is stationed with an Athenian squadron at Oreus (Euboea). Archidamus marches from Sparta to Phocis.
		Philocrates, Aeschines, Demosthenes are sent as ambassadors to make overtures for peace with King Philip (c. **16**, 1). They bring back a letter, which they present to the Council.
		Antipater and Parmenion are sent to Athens to negotiate the Peace.
		The Peace of Philocrates is sworn to by Athens and the allies, the basis of it being the *status quo* (April). Two allies of Athens—the Phocians and the town of Halus—are expressly excluded.
346		Second Athenian embassy awaits at Pella Philip's return from Thrace, to receive his oath of ratification of the treaty (June 17). He takes the ambassadors with him to Pherae—where the oaths are administered to Philip's allies (end of June). The ambassadors on their return to Athens make a report of their mission to the βουλή (July 9) and the ἐκκλησία (July 10). The Ath. extend the peace to the successors of Philip, give up the Phocians and resolve upon another deputation to Philip. Philip meantime hastens to Thermopylae, and being joined by the Boeotians marches into Phocis a few days after. The towns are dismantled (July). Phalaecus makes his own terms with Philip, and the Phocian War ends (c. **18**, 2 note).
		Demosthenes (with Timarchus) lodges his charge against Aeschines for misconduct in the second Embassy.
		Demosth. or. 21 κατὰ Μειδίου (Butcher p. 77—80).
	38	Ol. 108. 3. *Archias.*
		Building of a new arsenal at Athens by Philon. Fleet augmented. Revision of the roll of citizens.
		Philip is made a member of the Amphictyonic council, and thereby a Greek power. The council notify his election to Athens and demand her recognition of it.
		Isocratis or. 5 Φίλιππος *after the conclusion of the peace and before the end of the Phocian war; Demosthenis or.* 57 ἔφεσις πρὸς Εὐβουλίδην; *or.* 5 περὶ Εἰρήνης, *in which he persuades the Athenians to recognise Philip's Amphictyonic title (August).*
		Philip carries on a diplomatic warfare, without

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		ever coming to an open rupture. He strengthens and extends his influence in Greece, forms fresh alliances in every quarter with a view to isolating Athens, while he continues his conquests in Thrace, till the second Sacred War affords him the opportunity of annihilating the independence of Greece by the battle of Chaeronea. Demosthenes from an opposition speaker becomes a recognised adviser and leader of public opinion.
345		Delian suit before the Amphictyonic Council.
		Aeschinis or. 1 κατὰ Τιμάρχου (*Aeschines had been indicted by Demosthenes and Timarchus for delaying the journey of the second embassage to Philip: Aeschines* (*aet.* 43), *to gain time, brings a successful countercharge against Timarchus for his scandalous life*).
		Demosth. or. 37 πρὸς Πανταίνετον; *or.* 38 πρὸς Ναυσίμαχον.
	39	Ol. 108. 4. *Eubulus.*
		Philip attacks the Illyrii, Dardani and Triballi, and afterwards establishes an oligarchical régime in Thessaly, constituting decadarchies in some towns and garrisoning others.
344		Beginning of Philip's interference in the Peloponnese. He aspires to play the part of Epaminondas in supporting the independence of Messene and Argos against Sparta. Demosthenes goes as ambassador to counteract his intrigues and warn the states against joining Philip, but in vain. Embassy in remonstrance from Philip to Athens against the misconstruction put upon his conduct.
	40	Ol. 109. 1. *Lyciscus.*
		Demosthenes on this occasion delivers his or. 6 κατὰ Φιλίππου β' (τὴν ἑβδόμην τῶν Φιλιππικῶν δημηγοριῶν *c.* **4**, 1; *c.* **12**, 1), *in which he shows how Philip by the necessity of his position was pursuing a settled plan of hostility to Athens* (Butcher p. 94), *and points to Philocrates and Aeschines as the guilty causes of the present troubles.*
343		The affair of Antiphon (c. **14**, 4).
		Judicial proceedings taken by Hypereides against Philocrates (*c.* **16**, 2), *who retires into exile and in his absence is condemned to death.*
		The election of Aeschines as delegate to plead the Athenian cause quashed by the Areopagus (Dem. *de cor.* § 134).
		Demosthenes elected *pylagoras.*
		Institution of macedonizing tyrants in Euboea (c. **17**, 1; see under B.C. 342). Philip occupies instead of restoring to the Athenians, the island of Halonnesus, which had been taken by Sostratus,

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a pirate, soon after the end of the Phocian war. Python is sent by Philip to Athens (c. **9**, 1) to offer to modify the terms of the last treaty, of which the Athenians complained. They took him at his word and demanded the restoration of their ancient possessions, particularly of Amphipolis. Hegesippus is sent at the head of an embassy to demand these terms and the restitution of Halonnesus; but Philip considers their claims preposterous and dismisses the envoys.

41 Ol. 109. 2. *Pythodotus.*

Liberation of Sicily by Timoleon of Corinth.

Demosthenis or. 19 *and Aeschinis or.* 2 περὶ τῆς παραπρεσβείας. *Aeschines is accused by Demosth. of collusion with Philip and of malversation in the second embassy* (B.C. 346), *but acquitted by only a small majority* (*c.* **15**, 3)—*a doubtful victory and probably due to the influence of Eubulus* (Butcher 96—9).

Philip foiled in his attempt to get access to the Peloponnese. Megara rescued by prompt succour from Athens. Baffled on this side, Philip turns his army towards Epirus, where he dethrones Arybbas and sets up Alexander, brother of his queen Olympias, in his place. His further designs upon Ambracia and Acarnania frustrated by Demosthenes and the other Athenian ambassadors.

Demosth. or. 48 κατὰ Ὀλυμπιοδώρου βλάβης; *or.* 43 πρὸς Μακάρτατον περὶ Ἁγνίου κλήρου.

342 *The* Νεοττίς *of Antiphanes* (*c.* **9**, 5).

Philip returns from Epirus by way of Thessaly, where he institutes a tetrarchy, so as to bring the country more completely under his sway. He resumes negotiations with Athens, and sends a letter touching on all the points of dispute. He offers to undertake the police of the sea in concert with Athens; but that involved the recognition of Macedon as a naval as well as an Hellenic power by Athens.

Hegesippus [*Dem. or.* 7] περὶ Ἁλοννήσου (*c.* **9**, 5).

In Euboea Philip's troops take Oreus and establish his creature Philistides as tyrant there (c. **17**, 1 note). Chalcis the first town to enter into an alliance with Athens.

Diopithes (father of the poet Menander, who was born this year) is in command of the Athenian forces in the Hellespont.

Philip enters on a new campaign against Thrace and pushes further eastward; a permanent conquest of the country between the Hellespont and the Euxine would serve him at once as a base of operations against Asia, and deal a vital blow to Athens (*Butcher* p. 100).

Aristotle goes to the Macedonian court as Alexander's tutor.

42 Ol. 109. 3. *Sosigenes.*

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341		Second year of the Thracian War (—B.C. 339).
		Athens is menaced in her most vulnerable point abroad—the Thracian Chersonese, which held one of the two gates of Greece, as it commanded the passage of the Dardanelles and the trade of the Black Sea, on which Attica relied for nearly all its supply of corn.
		Diopithes, an Athenian mercenary, attempted to force some settlers upon Cardia, which in 357 B.C. had been recognised as independent, and in the late treaty had been enrolled among the Macedonian allies. Philip sends aid to Cardia, and Diopithes retaliates by raiding the Thracian seaboard subject to Macedon. Philip sends a letter of menace and remonstrance to the Athenian people, complaining of his proceedings as an infraction of peace.
		Demosthenes or. 8 *περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερροννήσῳ, in which he justifies the action of Diopithes* (Butcher, p. 101—7); *or.* 9 *κατὰ Φιλίππου γ′* (*c.* **12**, 1; *c.* **13**, 4; *c.* **17**, 1 *note*, Butcher p. 101) *in which he proposes that Athens should throw off her torpor, arm herself and head an Hellenic league.*
		Mission of Demosthenes (c. **17**, 2; c. **23**, 3 note) to Byzantium, of Hypereides to Chios and Rhodes, and of Ephialtes (c. **23**, 3 note) to the Persian king Ochus.
		Defeat of the Macedonising party in Euboea by Phocion (c. **17**, 1). Oreus liberated by the combined efforts of Athenians, Chalcidians and Megarians. Death of Philistides.
	43	Ol. 109. 4. *Nicomachus.*
		Philip dethrones Cersobleptes and Teres and ravages the Odrysian kingdom; then marches towards the Propontis. Treaty between Athens and Byzantium. Third year of the Thracian war.
340		Demosthenes and Callias travel as missionaries through the Peloponnesus to organize a confederacy against Philip (c. **17**, 3). Athens becomes the centre of a Hellenic league, comprising Euboea, Acarnania, Corinth, Achaea, Corcyra and Megara.
		Execution of Anaxinos of Oreus as a supposed spy of Philip (Aesch. *Ctes.* § 223—4). Liberation of Eretria by Phocion.
		Demosthenes crowned at the Dionysia in commemoration of the liberation of Euboea. Philip marches upon the Chersonese. The Macedonian fleet passes through the Hellespont.
		[*Demosth.*] *or.* 10 *κατὰ Φιλίππου δ′*; *or.* 59 *κατὰ Νεαίρας*; *or.* 58 *κατὰ Θεοκρίνου ἔνδειξις*; *Moerocles* (*c.* **13**, 5; *c.* **23**, 3) *appeared for Theocrines.*
	44	Ol. 110. 1. *Theophrastus.*
		Philip lays siege to Perinthus and, failing to take it, invests

B.C.	AET. DEM.	
		Byzantium (c. **17**, 2). Philochorus *ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ Ἀτθίδος βίβλῳ* (*fr.* 135):—*Φίλιππος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀναπλεύσας Περίνθῳ προσέβαλεν· ἀποτυχὼν δ' ἐντεῦθεν Βυζάντιον ἐπολιόρκει καὶ μηχανήματα προσῆγεν.*
		Philip's ultimatum. War declared by the Athenians.
		Reform of the trierarchic system by Demosthenes. His law made the share of each of those liable to the charge of the trierarchy proportionate to his taxable capital. Increased efficiency of the marine consequent upon this law.
		Demosthenes induces the Athenians (c. **17**, 2) to relieve Byzantium.
339		Fourth year of the Thracian War.
		The Athenians send reinforcements under Cephisophon and Phocion to the relief of Byzantium (Hypereides trierarch).
		Midias and Aeschines sent to Delphi as *πυλαγόραι.*
		Amphictyonic War against Amphissa (c. **18**, 1), stirred up by Aeschines (Spring).
		Philip raises the siege of Byzantium (c. **17**, 2) and marches to the Chersonese, and avenges himself on the Scythian king Ateas.
	45	Ol. 110. 2. *Lysimachides.*
		Isocrates, now in his 98*th year, completes his or.* 12 *Παναθηναϊκός. None of the speeches of Demosth. between* B.C. 340 *and* B.C. 338 *are preserved.*
		Special meeting of the Amphictyonic council with election of Cottyphos; unsuccessful campaign (Midsummer). Regular meeting of the Amphictyonic council, when Philip is chosen general (Dem. *de cor.* § 151) to give effect to the decree against the Locrians (September).
		Demosthenes' proposal to divert the theoric fund (see B.C. 354) to war purposes—the greatest triumph of his eloquence.
		Philip returns to Greece, annihilates a force of 10,000 men under Chares and Proxenus; then, after (?) taking Amphissa, marches into Phocis and occupies Elatea (c. **18**, 1).
		Demosthenes promptly urges an alliance with Thebes; his embassy thither (c. **18**, 1); by his great eloquence he overcomes all lets and hindrances to the alliance between Thebes and Athens (c. **18**, 4).
		Preparations for war at Athens.
338		Demosthenes, on the motion of Hypereides, receives a crown of honour at the Dionysia (April).

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	46	Ol. 110. 3. *Chaerondas.*
		Death of Artaxerxes III (Ochos). Arses his son becomes king of Persia (—336 B.C.).
		Lycurgus, the orator, becomes ταμίας τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου, 'Chancellor of the Exchequer' (c. 23, 3), at Athens (—326 B.C.)
		Battle of Chaeronea on the 7th of Metageitnion (August) and defeat of the Athenians, Thebans and other allies by Philip (c. **20**, 1; c. **21**, 3).
		Demosthenes runs away from the field of battle (c. **20**, 2).
		Archidamus, king of Sparta, killed in battle with the Lucanians (Italy). Agis III (c. **24**, 1) becomes king (—330 B.C.).
		Death of Isocrates.
		Measures for the defence of Athens. Commissioners (including Demosthenes) appointed for the fortifications. Demosthenes made treasurer of the Theoricon. Phocion assumes the military command.
		Thebes capitulates and the Cadmea receives a Macedonian garrison (c. **23**, 1).
		Peace of Demades between Athens and Philip. Athens loses her naval hegemony and her possessions by sea except Lemnos, Imbros and Samos, but recovers Oropus.
		The 2000 Athenian prisoners are restored without ransom (c. **22**, 3).
		Philip after the battle marches on by Megara and Corinth into the Peloponnese, where submission is made by all but Sparta.
		Synod at Corinth: an Hellenic league is formed under Macedonian Hegemony and Philip appointed Hellenic commander against the Persian king.
		Demosthenes appointed to pronounce the funeral oration in honour of the slain at the annual winter festival of the dead (c. **21**, 2). *His speech is not extant: or.* 60 *in the Demosthenic collection is spurious, see p. xlix.*
		Demosth. elected τειχοποιός for 337—6 (summer to summer).
337	47	Ol. 110. 4. *Phrynichus.*
		Philip celebrates his marriage with Cleopatra, niece of Attalus, and is thereby involved in domestic broils. Olympias and Alexander fly to Epirus.
336		*Ctesiphon's* προβούλευμα (*March*) *that Demosthenes should receive a golden crown at the great Dionysia in the presence of all the strangers for his special services as* τειχοποιός *and general merits*

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		as a citizen (*c.* **24**, 1). *Aeschines stops the progress of the bill by serving a notice of* γραφὴ παρανόμων *upon Ctesiphon.* (*See* B.C. 330.)
	48	Ol. 111. 1. *Pythodemus.*
		Philip assassinated at Aegae by Pausanias (c. **21**, 3; c. **22**, 1) at the marriage of Cleopatra his daughter with Alexander, king of Epirus. His son Alexander the Great succeeds in his 20th year (c. **23**, 2).
		Demosthenes is the first to announce the news of Philip's death; the people resolve to bestow a crown of honour on the murderer (c. **22**, 1), and take instant measures to free the Greeks from the Macedonian yoke.
		A correspondence is commenced with Attalus in Asia and also with the Persian court.
		Movement in Greece quickly suppressed by the appearance of Alexander, who returns from Thrace, hastens to Thermopylae and holds an Amphictyonic council, at which he is elected general of the Greeks. Thence he marches into Boeotia and procures the submission of Thebes. The Athenians send ambassadors to conciliate him, among them Demosthenes, who however does not go farther than Cithaeron. Alexander then proceeds to Corinth, where in a general congress he is appointed, just as his father had been, to assume the hegemony and conduct the war against Persia.
		Death of Arses and accession of Darius III Codomannus (—B.C. 330).
		[*Demosth.*] *or.* XVII *περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον συνθηκῶν.*
		Dinarchus (*aet.* 26) *begins to be active as a* λογογράφος (*c.* **31**, 2).
		The Φιλιππικά *of Theopompus end with this year* (*c.* **25**, 6).
335		Alexander marches through Thrace to the Danube: he returns through Paeonia to attack the Illyrian prince Cleitus.
	49	Ol. 111. 2. *Euaenetus.*
		During his absence the Thebans revolt and blockade the Macedonian garrison in the Cadmea. Demosthenes persuades the Athenians to vote alliance with the Thebans, and himself furnishes them with a supply of arms (c. **23**, 1).
		The Aetolians, Eleans and Arcadians also revolt; the latter turned back when they had advanced as far as the Isthmus.
		Thebes is taken after a brave resistance and razed to the ground. The inhabitants (30,000) sold as slaves: 6000 had fallen. From Athens Alexander at first required the surrender of the principal leaders of the war-party (c. **10**, 2), but Demades induced him to waive this demand and to be satisfied with the banishment of Charidemus and Ephialtes (c. **23**).
		Charidemus repairs to the court of the Persian king.

B.C.	AET. DEM.	
334		*Aristotle settles at Athens and teaches in the Lyceum.*
		Alexander crosses the Hellespont (c. **27**, 1 n.). Battle of Granicus (May).
		Invasion of Aeolis and Ionia (Summer).
	50	Ol. 111. 3. *Ctesicles.*
		Capture of Miletus by Alexander.
		He marches into Caria. The Fall of Halicarnassus after a vigorous siege leaves Alexander master of the western shores of Asia Minor.
333		The Persian fleet gains Chios and Lesbos.
	51	Ol. 111. 4. *Nicocrates.*
		Death of Memnon, commander of the Persian fleet—who had intrigued with the Greek states (c. **24**, 1) to excite a rising against Macedonia—before Mitylene—a fatal blow to the Persian cause.
		Charidemus (c. **23**, 3) put to death by Darius because of his opposition to the king's offensive operations.
		Alexander's victory over Darius III at Issus—a fatal blow to the anti-Macedonian cause in Greece.
		Theopompus returns from exile to Chios.
332	52	Ol. 112. 1. *Anicetus.*
		Tyre taken by Alexander after a seven months' siege.
		Foundation of Alexandria (c. **18**, 2 note) (Egypt).
		Demosthenis or. 34 *πρὸς Φορμίωνα ὑπὲρ δανείου.* (?)
331		Alexander leaves Memphis (Egypt), where he had passed the winter, in the spring.
	53	Ol. 112. 2. *Aristophanes.*
		Alexander crosses the Euphrates (July).
		Battle of Gaugamela (Arbela) Oct. 1. Flight of Darius and overthrow of the Persian Empire.
330		*Lycurgi or. κατὰ Λεωκράτους.*
		Defeat of the Spartans under Agis by Antipater (c. **24**, 1) before Megalopolis.
	54	Ol. 112. 3. *Aristophon.*
		Darius III slain in Parthia (July).
		Case of the Crown (*see* B.C. 337) *comes off in the summer* (*c.* **24**, 1, 2, *Dionys. Ep.* I. *ad Amm. c.* 12, 3). *Aeschines withdraws from Athens to Asia* (*c.* **24**, 2).
		Alexander in Parthia.
329		Sixth campaign of Alexander in Asia: he crosses the Oxus from Bactria, captures Bessus and proceeds to the Jaxartes (*Tanais*).
	55	Ol. 112. 4. *Cephisophon.*

B.C.	AET. DEM.	
328	56	Ol. 113. 1. *Euthycritus.*
		Seventh campaign of Alexander in Asia (Sogdiana).
		[*Demosth.*] *or.* 25 κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονος α′; *or.* 42 πρὸς Φαίνιππον; *or.* 26 κ. Ἀριστογείτονος β′.
327		Eighth campaign of Alexander in Asia.
		He marries Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, the Bactrian Chief.
		He crosses the Paropamisus into India.
	57	Ol. 113. 2. *Hegêmon.*
		[*Demosth.*] *or.* 34 πρὸς Φορμίωνα ὑπὲρ δανείου.
326		Alexander's ninth campaign in Asia. He crosses the Indus. Defeat of Porus at the crossing of the Hydaspes (*Jelum*).
	58	Ol. 113. 3. *Chremes.*
		Alexander pushes his conquests as far as the Hyphasis (*Sutlej*).
		[*Demadis*] *or.* ὑπὲρ τῆς δωδεκαετίας (*c.* **23**, 5).
325		He sails down the Indian rivers—Hydaspes and Indus.
	59	Ol. 113. 4. *Anticles.*
		Alexander reaches the mouth of the Indus. He returns to Persia.
324		Flight of Harpalus, Alexander's treasurer, from Babylon and arrival at Athens with a large treasure (c. **25**, 1). Demosth. advises at first that he should not be received (c. **25**, 3). He obtains a decree for the sequestration of his treasure. A portion of it is missing, whereupon an inquiry is set on foot by the Areopagus on the motion of Demosthenes. Harpalus escapes arrest by flight.
	60	Ol. 114. 1. *Hêgêsias.*
		Appearance of Demetrius Phalereus in public affairs.
		Demosthenes goes as ἀρχιθέωρος to Olympia (c. **9**, 2), where proclamation is made by Nicanor of Stagira of Alexander's order about the reception of the exiles by the Greek states. The Athenians remonstrate (Dinarch. *c. Dem.* § 81). Judicial report (ἀπόφασις) of the Areopagus on the Harpalian affair. Demosthenes among others is charged with having appropriated part of the treasure of Harpalus (c. **26**, 1). He is tried, found guilty and fined fifty talents. In default of payment, he is imprisoned but escapes (c. **26**, 2).
323		Pytheas, Menesaechmos, Demades and Phocion are now the dominant party at Athens.
		Death of Alexander at Babylon (May, c. **27**, 1).
		Partition of his kingdom. Philip III becomes king under the

B.C.	AET. DEM.	
		regency of Perdiccas (c. **31**, 3 note). Antipater (c. **27**, 1) continues vice-regent in Macedonia, until Craterus (c. **28**, 2) assumes the regency, Lysimachus holds Thrace and Leonnatus the hellespontine Phrygia.
	61	Ol. 114. 2. *Cephisodorus.*
		The Athenians send ambassadors to the Greek states inviting them to co-operate in a war of liberation. Demosthenes, still in exile, joins them (c. **27**, 2). Macedonian envoys sent to Peloponnesus, to counteract the efforts of the Athenians. Leosthenes of Athens (c. **27**, 1) undertakes the command of the confederate forces (exclusive of Sparta and Boeotia). Hypereides determines the Athenians to declare war. Pytheas (c. **8**, 3; c. **27**, 2) and Callimedon join Antipater; Demades is disfranchised; Aristotle retires to Chalcis (Euboea). Demosthenes recalled from exile on the motion of Demon (c. **27**, 4). Lamian War. Leosthenes blockades Antipater in Lamia, where he had taken refuge.
322		Death of Leosthenes before Lamia (c. **27**, 1). He is succeeded by Antiphilus. Leonnatus raises the siege of Lamia, is defeated and slain. Antipater effects a junction with his army.
		Funeral oration of Hypereides over Leosthenes (c. **27**, 1 note).
		[*Demosth.*] *or.* 56 *κατὰ Διονυσοδώρου.*
		Defeat of the Athenian fleet by the Macedonians.
	62	Ol. 114. 3. *Philocles.*
		Craterus with the veterans from Asia joins Antipater.
		Victory of the Macedonians under Antipater at Crannon (Thessaly) Augt 5th (c. **27**, 1 note; c. **28**, 1).
		Dissolution of the anti-Macedonian league.
		Athens submits to Antipater, who has advanced to Thebes.
		Demosthenes, Hypereides and others are proscribed as traitors and make their escape from Athens (c. **28**, 2).
		Entry of the Macedonian garrison into Munychia, 16th Septr. (c. **28**, 1).
		Antipater's revenge.
		Athens agrees to pay the expenses of the war, to receive a Macedonian garrison into Munychia (c. **28**, 1) and to surrender Demosthenes and Hypereides. Sentence of death was passed upon them on the motion of Demades (c. **28**, 2). Hypereides put to death by Antipater (Oct. 5th) in Aegina. Demosthenes escapes to Calauria, where he takes refuge

B.C.	AET. DEM.	
		in the temple of Poseidon (c. **29**, 1). Pursued by Archias, Antipater's emissary, he poisons himself, to escape arrest, two months after the battle of Crannon (Oct. 12th).
		Death of Aristotle at Chalcis (Dionys. I *Ep. ad Amm.* c. 5).

The above *Chronologia Demosthenica* is composed from that of Arnold Schaefer with some additions and modifications.

ADDENDA

P. 45 CH. III § 2 l. 11 *add*:—

On the relation of Caecilius of Calacte to the treatise *περὶ ὕψους*, see an article by M. Rothstein in *Hermes* vol. 23, 1888 pp. 1—20.

P. 47 CH. IV § 1 l. 5, 12 *add*:—

Cepi (*κῆποι* 'gardens') lay in the modern island of Taman in the sea of Corocondame (Strabo *Geogr.* XI c. 2, 10) over against Kertch and Jenicale.

P. 48 CH. IV § 1 l. 8 *add*:—

On the other hand Curtius *Gr. Hist.* V p. 549 *Eng. Tr.* suggests that the extraordinary power of tension characteristic of his mind may be connected with the circumstance that the blood of the Northern race flowed in his veins. Aristotle also, it must be remembered was a half-blood (Bernays *die Dial. des Aristoteles* p. 134, Berlin 1863).

P. 50 CH. IV § 4 l. 25 *add*:—

The same explanation is given by Libanius p. 1 Reiske:—*ἦν μέν, ὥς φασιν, ἀσθενὴς τῷ σώματι καὶ νοσώδης, ὥστε μηδὲ εἰς παλαίστραν φοιτῆσαι, καθάπερ πάντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παῖδες εἰώθεσαν· ὅθεν καὶ ἀνδρωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἰς μαλακίαν ἐσκώπτετο καὶ Βάταλος ἐπωνυμίαν ἔσχεν.* But it does not appear in any other writer. It was probably taken by both from the same author, who wished to defend Demosth. from the taunts of Aeschines which were eagerly caught up by Idomeneus and Hermippus. V. Sturm p. 60.

P. 51 CH. IV § 5 l. 31 *add*:—

Aeschines intimates that the name Ἀργᾶς 'viper' was fixed upon him as though he had turned round and bitten the nurturers of his youth *de f. leg.* § 99, where the Scholiast's explanation is like that of Plutarch:—*ἀργᾶς ὄφιος εἶδος. οὕτω δὴ ὠνομάσθη διὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως πονηρὸν καὶ κακόηθες.* There is a parallel instance of the difficulty of tracing the origin and meaning of such sobriquets, even among contemporaries, in a recent publication, *An Englishman in Paris*, Vol. II p. 4—5, where the various solutions of the celebrated nickname 'Badinguet' as given to Louis Napoleon are recorded.

P. 55 CH. V § 5 l. 30 *add*:—

The story, however, is confirmed by the testimony of Hermippus, as given by Aul. Gellius *N. A.* III c. 13:—*Hermippus hoc scriptum reliquit, Demosthenen, admodum adulescentem, ventitare in Academiam, Platonemque audire solitum. 'Atque is' inquit 'Demosthenes' domo egressus, ut ei mos erat, cum ad Platonem pergeret complurisque populos concurrentes videret, percontatur eius rei causam cognoscitque currere eos auditum Callistratum.' Is Callistratus Athenis orator in republica fuit, quos illi* δημαγωγούς *appellant. Visum est paulum*

devertere experirique, an digna auditio tanto properantium studio foret. 'Venit' inquit 'atque audit Callistratum, nobilem illam τὴν περὶ Ὠρωποῦ δίκην dicentem, atque ita motus et demulctus et captus est, ut Callistratum iam inde sectari coeperit, Academiam cum Platone reliquerit.' Zosimus also (298, 38 ff) and Ps.-Plut. 844 C repeat the story.

The Speeches of Demosth. certainly do not betray any Platonic influence, and his practical nature was averse from philosophical speculation.

l. 35 *add*:—

See Vahlen *der Rhetor Alcidamas*, *Stzb. d. Wien. Ak.* 1861, p. 491—p. 528.

P. 56 CH. VI § 1 l. 2 *add*:—

Cp. Libanius *vit. Dem.* p. 3, who probably drew upon the same source as Plutarch: *μετὰ μέντοι τούτους τοὺς ἀγῶνας βραχὺ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ προελθὼν σοφιστεύειν ἐνεχείρησεν, εἶτα ἀπαλλαγεὶς τούτου συνηγόρησεν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, τούτοις δὲ ὥσπερ γυμνασίοις χρησάμενος ἐπὶ τὸ δημαγωγεῖν καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράττειν ἦλθεν.*

P. 59 CH. VI § 3 l. 27, 2 *after* λέγειν *add*:—

Weil *Introd. to the* Δημηγορίαι p. 7, Paris 1871 calls attention to the peculiar conformation of the mouth in the portrait statues of Demosthenes: 'Dans les bustes de Démosthène la lèvre inférieure est collée contre la gencive, comme chez les bègues: trait caractéristique, qui se retrouve on l'a fait remarquer, dans le Moïse de Michel-Ange.'

§ 4 l. 32 *after* 'ἔχων, concessive' *add*:—

For the story, cp. *Mor.* 795 D *λέγεται δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένους ἐκπεσόντος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ βαρέως φέροντος ἅψασθαι παλαιόν τινα γέροντα τῶν ἀκηκοότων Περικλέους καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἐκείνῳ τἀνδρὶ προσεοικὼς τὴν φύσιν οὐ δικαίως αὑτοῦ κατέγνωκεν.*

P. 60 § 4 l. 32 *add*:—

Cp. also [Lucian] *Enc. Dem.* c. 20 *ἱκανή γ' ἂν σοι οὐδ' ἡ Περικλέους (ἂν εἴη ῥητορεία)· ἐκείνου μέν γε τὰς ἀστραπὰς καὶ βροντὰς καὶ πειθοῦς τι κέντρον δόξῃ παραλαβόντες, ἀλλ' αὐτήν γε οὐχ ὁρῶμεν, δῆλον ὡς ὑπὲρ τὴν φαντασίαν οὐδὲν ἔμμονον ἔχουσαν οὐδ' οἷον ἐξαρκέσαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ χρόνου βάσανον καὶ κρίσιν.*

ibid. l. 35 *add*:—

Cp. *Eumen.* c. 11, 3 *τὸν ἄλυν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπραξίας μαραινομένων ἀπαλλάξαι βουλόμενος.*

P. 61 CH. VII § 2 l. 19 *add*:—

By *ὑπόκρισις* is meant the power of finished and impressive impersonation of the sentiment of his argument. See Aristot. *Rhet.* III 1, 3 p. 1403^b, 21: *τρίτον δὲ τούτων, ὃ δύναμιν μὲν ἔχει μεγίστην οὔπω δ' ἐπικεχείρηται, τὰ περὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν. καὶ γὰρ εἰς τὴν τραγικὴν καὶ ῥαψῳδίαν ὀψὲ παρῆλθεν· ὑπεκρίνοντο γὰρ αὐτοὶ τὰς τραγῳδίας οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸ πρῶτον. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι καὶ περὶ τὴν ῥητορικήν ἐστι τὸ τοιοῦτον ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ τὴν ποιητικήν.....ἔστι δὲ αὕτη (sc. ἡ ὑπόκρισις, pronuntiatio) μὲν ἐν τῇ φωνῇ, πῶς αὐτῇ δεῖ χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἕκαστον πάθος, οἷον πότε μεγάλῃ καὶ πότε μικρᾷ καὶ πότε μέσῃ, καὶ*

πῶς τοῖς τόνοις, οἷον ὀξείᾳ καὶ βαρείᾳ καὶ μέσῃ καὶ ῥυθμοῖς τίσι πρὸς ἕκαστον. τρία γάρ ἐστι περὶ ὧν σκοποῦσιν· ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ μέγεθος ἁρμονία ῥυθμός i.e. 'and thirdly in these things (the divisions of Rhetoric) enquiry was directed to all that relates to delivery, which is especially effective as a means of persuasion but has not yet been attempted systematically. (And this is not surprising) because in fact it was not till late that it made its way into the tragic art and rhapsody; for the poets at first (in the earliest stage of the drama) used to act their tragedies themselves (as well as they could by the light of nature, without any rules of art). It is plain then that there is something of this kind (i.e. declamation) in Rhetoric also as well as in Poetry....This resides in the voice, in the mode of employing it, that is, for (the expression of) any emotion; that is to say, sometimes loud, sometimes low, sometimes between the two; and in the mode of employing the tone of voice, that is to say, acute, grave, middle, and what measures (times) in respect of each. For there are three things for enquiry, magnitude (volume of sound), tune, time.'

As to the story cp. that told by 'An Englishman in Paris' (London 1892 Vol. I p. 208 f) of the actor Samson in the reign of Louis Philippe, who having strolled into the *Palais de Justice* heard the *procureur-impérial* make a speech for the prosecution which would have disgraced his most backward pupil at the Conservatoire, and ended by taking him out on the beach and giving him a lesson in delivering a speech.

P. 62 CH. VII § 3 l. 28 *add*:—

Cp. Zosim. 300 *ξυρῶντά ποτε τοῦ πώγωνος τὸ ἥμισυ.*

ibid. l. 29 *add*:—

Further details to suit the Greek imagination are given in *vit. X orr.* 844 E: *καὶ κατιόντα ἐπὶ τὸ Φαληρικὸν πρὸς τὰς τῶν κυμάτων ἐμβολὰς τὰς σκέψεις ποιεῖσθαι, ἵν', εἴ ποτε θορυβοίη ὁ δῆμος, μὴ ἐκσταίη*, where it is implied that Demosthenes' object was to acquire by the practice presence of mind, *non vocis vim* (as Cicero *de fin.* V 2, 5 *ut fremitum assuesceret voce vincere* understands) *sed constantiam quandam animi et aurium* (Madvig).

P. 63 CH. VIII § 2 l. 12 *at end of note add*:—

The words of Suidas are:—*ἐπιμελὴς μᾶλλον ἢ εὐφυής, ὡς Ἕρμιππος ἱστορεῖ, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀκόλαστος, ὡς καὶ τοῦτό φησιν ὁ αὐτός· ὅθεν καὶ νεὸς ὢν Βάταλος ἐκλήθη, ὡς καὶ γυναικείᾳ ἐσθῆτι πολλάκις χρησάμενος, Ἀργᾶς δὲ μετὰ τὸ ἐς ἄνδρας τελέσαι, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὄνομα ὄφεως.*

P. 64 CH. VIII § 3 l. 22 *at end of note add*:—

Stobaeus *Florileg.* 29, 90 quotes a passage from the *χρεῖαι* of Aristotle much to the same effect:—*Δημοσθένης ἐρωτηθεὶς 'πῶς τῆς ῥητορικῆς περιεγένου;' 'πλέον' ἔφη 'ἔλαιον οἴνου δαπανήσας.'* Cp. also Cicero *Tusc.* IV 19, 44 *cui non sunt auditae Demosthenis vigiliae? qui dolere se aiebat, si quando antelucana victus esset industria.*

P. 65 CH. VIII § 4 l. 24 *add*:—

Libanius mixes up two stories when he gives as a reason *διεβέβλητο γὰρ ὡς λωποδυτῶν νύκτωρ ὁ Πυθέας.* Cp. *Dem.* c. 11, 5.

ibid. l. 28 *add*:—

Cp. *vit. X orr.* 848 C ὀνειδίσαντος δ' αὐτὸν Ἐπικλέους ὅτι ἀεὶ σκέπτοιτο 'αἰσχυνοίμην γὰρ ἄν' εἶπεν 'εἰ τηλικούτῳ δήμῳ συμβουλεύων αὐτοσχεδιάζοιμι.'

ibid. § 5 l. 35 *add*:—

συνεῖπεν: This presupposes a long continued league between the two; Demosth. in fact was quite another man after Demades had interceded for him with Alexander. He was henceforth hand in glove with him. They were both ruined in the Harpalian affair. See Beloch *die Att. Pol.* p. 243 who quotes Dinarch. *c. Demosth.* § 101, κεκώλυκάς τινα πρᾶξιν, Δημόσθενες, ὧν ἐκεῖνος (*sc.* Δημάδης) προελόμενος κατὰ τοῦ δήμου πεπολίτευται;

P. 68 CH. IX § 3 l. 19 *add*:—

Cp. *Mor.* 6 D: ὁ Περικλῆς...καλούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πολλάκις οὐχ ὑπήκουσε, λέγων ἀσύντακτος εἶναι· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης ζηλώτης τῆς τούτου πολιτείας γενόμενος καλούντων αὐτὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων σύμβουλον ἀντέβαινεν 'οὐ συντέταγμαι' λέγων.

ibid. § 4 l. 29 *add*:—

Aeschines (*Ctes.* § 166) turns his violent outbursts of passion and his strong metaphors into ridicule. The specimens which he gives have no existence in any of the extant works of Demosthenes.

P. 70 CH. X § 1 l. 1 *add*:—

For the secret of his success as a popular speaker, we have the authority of Stobaeus (*Anthol.* 29, 91 Δημάδης ἐρωτηθεὶς τίς αὐτοῦ διδάσκαλος γεγονὼς εἴη 'τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων' ἔφη 'βῆμα,' ἐμφαίνων ὅτι ἡ διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐμπειρία κρείττων πάσης σοφιστικῆς διδασκαλίας ἐστί), quoted by Beloch *die Att. Pol.* c. XIV p. 233. Two specimens of utterances about himself are recorded by Plut. *Mor.* 803 A τὰ ναυάγια πολιτεύεσθαι τῆς πόλεως, and by Demetrius περὶ ἑρμηνείας § 285 πόλιν (παρέλαβον) οὐ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων, τὴν ναύμαχον, ἀλλὰ γραῦν, σανδάλια ὑποδεδεμένην καὶ πτισάνην ῥοφοῦσαν.

P. 72 CH. X § 2 l. 18 *add at end of note*:—

ἡ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων κοπίς is usually rendered 'the pruner of my periods.' But such a rendering is quite erroneous. The word does not mean 'a pruning-knife,' which is δρέπανον (Plat. *Rep.* I 353); and, if it did, no word could be more inapplicable to the oratory of Demosthenes, who beyond all orators, past or present, is absolutely free from redundancy, and never admits of pruning. It is indeed the chasteness of the eloquence of Demosthenes, which often conceals from the modern reader his greatness as an orator. What Demosthenes meant when he called Phocion 'the κοπίς of his arguments,' was that the plain matter-of-fact common sense of Phocion often gave a knock-down blow to his own arguments and appeals, which would easily have withstood the assaults of the sophistry and vulgar rhetoric of his other opponents. It is not so long since Lord Palmerston used to direct a douche of common sense on the fires of Parliamentary rhetoric. Such a speaker was Phocion, and the

cleaver of his home-spun mother-wit was more formidable than the flaming sword of eloquence or the nimble rapier of dialectics.

Quarterly Review No. 340, April 1890, p. 440—1.

See also Prof. Mahaffy, *Problems in Greek Hist.* p. 153 f.

P. 73 CH. XI § 1 l. 6, 9 *add*:—

Suidas v 51 sq. adds two more to his physical defects: τραυλὸς δ' ὢν καὶ τὸν ὦμον ἀπρεπῶς ἐκίνει καὶ τὴν ἀκοὴν ἀσθενὴς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ διαρκής.

ibid. § 2 l. 8 *add*:—

Cp. Zosim. p. 148 τὸ πνεῦμα διαρκὲς κατεσκεύασεν οὕτως, πρὸς ὑψηλά τινα χωρία τρέχων καὶ ῥήσεις λέγων τινάς.

ibid. § 3 l. 25 *add*:—

Cp. Philodemus *adv. rhetor.* 4, 16: παρὰ δὲ τῷ Φαληρεῖ λέγεται ὑποποίκιλον μὲν αὐτὸν ὑποκριτὴν γεγονέναι καὶ περιττόν, οὐχ ἁπλοῦν δὲ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν γενναῖον τρόπον, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ μαλακώτερον καὶ ταπεινότερον ἀποκλίνοντα.

P. 76 CH. XII § 2 l. 17 *add*:—

Cp. H. Weil *Introd. générale* to Demosth. p. XXI: 'Plutarque dit que Démosthène désespéra de triompher de la ligue qui protégeait Midias. Nous n'avons pas la clef de cette énigme. Mais on peut soupçonner, et l'on aime à croire, que les malheurs de la patrie l'ayant rapproché d'Eubule, Démosthène fit taire ses haines personelles devant les convenances politiques et les devoirs du citoyen.'

P. 77 CH. XII § 4 l. 31 *add*:—

Another fragment of the roll of papyrus containing the *Speech against Demosthenes* has recently made its appearance, concerning which see Mr F. G. Kenyon in *Classical Review* Vol. VI p. 288—9.

P. 80 CH. XIII § 5 *add*:—

l. 37. Even before the battle of Chaeronea, the enemies of Demosth. had got up a charge λιποταξίου against him which he indignantly repudiates *Mid.* § 103.

P. 81 CH. XIV § 2 l. 12 *add*:—

Cp. [Lucian] *Encom. Dem.* c. 33 where Antigonus, in discussing the Attic orators with Archias, quotes the testimony of king Philip to the incorruptibility of Demosth.: δίκαιος ὁ Δημοσθένης παρρησίας τυγχάνειν· μόνος γέ τοι τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος δημαγωγῶν οὐδαμοῦ τοῖς ἀπολογισμοῖς ἐγγέγραπται τῶν ἐμῶν ἀναλωμάτων.

P. 84 CH. XV § 1 l. 5 *add*:—

The endeavours of the panegyrists of Demosth. to dispose of this evidence against his character are summed up by Blass *Att. Bereds.* III 412—3.

P. 85 CH. XV § 1 l. 6 *add*:—

Cp. *Demosth.-Cic.* c. 3, 5 χρηματίσασθαι τοίνυν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου Δημοσθένης μὲν ἐπιψόγως λέγεται λογογραφῶν κρύφα τοῖς περὶ Φορμίωνα καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον ἀντιδίκοις.

ibid. l. 8 *add*:—

H. Weil (*Introd. to the* δημηγορίαι *of Demosthenes* p. XI) attributes the calumny to a personal enemy of Demosthenes and adds:—

'Peu de temps après le procès de Phormion, lequel eut lieu en 352, la conformité des vues politiques a dû rapprocher Démosthène d'Apollodore. De là vinrent sans doute les soupçons, les calomnies auxquels un homme public, entouré d'ennemis ardents, ne pouvait échapper.' A. Schäfer (*Dem. u. s. Z.* I p. 348f), with other modern critics, attempts to defend Demosthenes by attributing the authorship of the Speeches for Apollodorus, which are included among those of Demosthenes, to Apollodorus himself. Egger attempts to find extenuating circumstances for Plutarch in his Mémoire XIV *Si les Athéniens ont connu la profession d'avocat*, Mémoires de littérature ancienne p. 368 Paris 1862. See also Prof. Mahaffy *Problems in Gr. Hist.* p. 146 ff.

ibid. § 2 l. 11, 15 *add*:—

(Dionys. Hal. *ep. ad Amm.* I 4 *καὶ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ πρῶτος τῶν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ κατασκευασθέντων ἀγώνων ὁ κατὰ Ἀνδροτιῶνος, ὃν γέγραφε Διοδώρῳ τῷ κρίνοντι τὸ ψήφισμα παρανόμων.*)

P. 90 CH. XVII § 2 l. 11 *add*:—

In *Phoc.* c. 14, 2 Plutarch, taking another view of the matter, writes *ὁ δῆμος ὑπὸ τῶν ῥητόρων παροξυνόμενος ἠγανάκτει καὶ μετενόει τοῖς Βυζαντίοις πέμψας τὴν βοήθειαν.*

P. 91 CH. XVII § 4 l. 25 *insert*:—

συνισταμένων...Κερκυραίων: Cp. Aesch. *Ctes.* § 95 § 97f, Dem. *de cor.* § 237, *vit. X orr.* 845 A, 16 *διὸ καὶ συμμάχους τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐποίησε Θηβαίους Εὐβοεῖς Κερκυραίους Κορινθίους Βοιωτοὺς καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους πρὸς τούτοις*, and the psephism of Demochares *ib.* 851 A, 4 *καὶ ὅτε εἰς συμμαχίαν τῷ δήμῳ προσηγάγετο πείσας καὶ εὐεργέτης γενόμενος καὶ σύμβουλος, δι' ὧν ἔπεισε Θηβαίους Εὐβοεῖς Κορινθίους Μεγαρεῖς Ἀχαιοὺς Λοκροὺς Βυζαντίους Μεσσηνίους καὶ δυνάμεις ἃς συνεστήσατο τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις.* On the date of the formation of the league, see J. Beloch *die Att. Pol.* Anhang 11 *Histor. Exc.* 10 p. 367—9.

P. 94 CH. XVIII § 3 l. 25 *add*:—

'Philip was not likely' says Grote 'to send instant propositions of peace, but he may have tried to disunite the enemies assembled against him by separate propositions addressed to them.'

P. 97 CH. XX § 3 l. 19 *add*:—

A. Holm *Gr. G.* Band III 327 has vindicated Philip from the accusations of cruelty, treachery and tyranny, with which some have blackened his character.

P. 100 CH. XXI § 2 l. 9, 17 *add*:—

Cp. Libanius *vit. Dem.* 6:—*ἐπιδεικτικοὺς οὐκ ἔχομεν αὐτοῦ λόγους· τοὺς γὰρ φερομένους οὐ πιστευτέον εἶναι Δημοσθένους, τὸν ἐπιτάφιον καὶ τὸν ἐρωτικόν· πολὺ γὰρ τῆς ἐκείνου δυνάμεως ἀπολείπονται.*

P. 102 CH. XXII § 1 l. 8 *add*:—

Phocion (*Phoc.* c. 16) objected to this manifestation of joy, *καὶ γὰρ ἀγεννὲς εἶναι ἐπιχαίρειν.* The attitude of Demosth. cannot be justified on the ground of the ethics of antiquity, for what says Homer (*Od.* XXII 412) *οὐχ ὁσίη κταμένοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχετάασθαι?*

ibid. l. 12 *add*:—

Plutarch refers to the same story in his *Consolatio ad Apollonium* c. 33 (*Mor.* 119 B—C), where he also quotes the words of Aeschines; and Cicero likewise in his *Tusc.* III 26, 63.

P. 104 CH. XXII § 5 l. 45 *add*:—

This, as Wrangham observes, was a consolation, of which Cicero felt the want, upon the death of his daughter, in his letter to Ser. Sulpicius (*Ep. ad fam.* IV 6, 1—2).

P. 107 CH. XXIII § 3 l. 26 *add*:—

A splendid testimony is given to Lycurgus' moral worth by Demosth. *Ep.* III 6 *οὕτω δ' ἐπιστεύετ' αὐτῷ καὶ δημοτικὸν παρὰ πάντας ἡγεῖσθε, ὥστε πολλὰ τῶν δικαίων ἐν τῷ φῆσαι Λυκοῦργον ἐκρίνετε καὶ τοῦθ' ὑμῖν ἐξήρκει.*

P. 108 CH. XXIII § 3 l. 27 *add*:—

We miss the names also of Chares and Thrasybulus as well as those of Diotimus and Hypereides in the list.

P. 117 CH. XXVI § 2 l. 10 *add*:—

The report of the Areopagus and the verdict of the jury were both political. Both bodies dreaded the vengeance of Alexander; and, to appease his formidable wrath, they selected the men who were most obnoxious to him, and condemned them without proof, as a sacrifice to a supposed political necessity. As Weil remarks (*Introd. générale* p. xxxi): *La postérité a trop souvent jugé Démosthène sur le récit de Plutarque, écho trop complaisant de la chronique scandaleuse d'Athènes. Le lecteur n'oublie pas des anecdotes qui flattent sa malignité; et cependant ces anecdotes, auxquelles ni Dinarque ni Hypéride ne font la moindre allusion, sont de celles que le caprice des narrateurs rapporte indifferémment à d'autres circonstances et à d'autres personnes. Opposons à des propos trop faciles à inventer les faits publics, historiques, bien constatés.* The subject is discussed with results unfavourable to Demosthenes by A. Holm *Gr. G.* Band III p. 420 note 13. All the facts connected with the case are grouped together by Castault *de causa Harpalica.* The former lays stress on the fact that Demosth. appropriated money, which did not belong to him but to Alexander; the plea put into his mouth by Hypereides (*in Demosth.* c. 10), as an excuse, was that he had advanced for the Theoric Fund, for the public benefit of the Athenians, twenty talents and that he had recouped himself for this money (*κατακεχρῆσθαι αὐτὰ ὑμῖν* (the Athenians) *προδεδανεισμένος εἰς τὸ θεωρικόν*); 2. that the circumstance of Hypereides, an anti-Macedonian, being one of the prosecutors tells against him. As to the insinuation made against him by Hypereides, that he might have made a stand against Alexander with the aid of Harpalus, but neglected the opportunity to do so, because he was in Alexander's pay—even Holm dismisses this as unworthy of discussion. Mahaffy (*Probl. in Gr. Hist.* p. 151 ff) does not go quite so far, but he has no doubt whatever that Demosth. was perfectly ready to accept the gold of Harpalus, if he thought it would enable him to emancipate Athens, even on the terms of screening Harpalus from any personal danger. Politicians might

make indirect profits and receive money privately for their work: the one thing intolerable was that they should take it from the enemies of their country or to prejudice Athenian interests. 'Is it fair' he asks 'to try Demosthenes by a far higher standard than that which is applied to modern European public life?' The exceptions to the average morality of the Greeks—Aristides, Socrates, Phocion—never enlisted the sympathy, though they commanded the respect, of the Greek public, and indeed suffered for their honesty. Demosth. was not below the average morality of his age—far from it; he was in all respects, save in military skill, much above it; but he was not at all, as his Biographer admits, of the type of his persistent adversary Phocion, who was honest and incorrupt in the strictest modern sense.

P. 119 CH. XXVII § 1 l. 4 *add*:—

A long and magnificent passage of the Speech is preserved by Stobaeus *Florilegium* 124, 36 (Vol. IV p. 134 ed. Meineke 1857).

P. 121 CH. XXVII § 2 l. 14 *add*:—

Cp. *Dem.-Cic.* c. 4, 2: *τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένει καὶ ἡ φυγὴ μέγα μέρος τῆς πολιτείας γέγονε. συναγωνιζόμενος γὰρ...τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνων πρέσβεις ἐξελαύνων ἐπήρχετο τὰς πόλεις, πολὺ βελτίων Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου παρὰ τὰς αὐτὰς τύχας φανεὶς πολίτης· καὶ μέντοι καὶ κατελθὼν αὖθις ἑαυτὸν ἐπέδωκεν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην πολιτείαν καὶ διετέλει πολεμῶν πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Μακεδόνας.*

P. 129 CH. XXIX § 5 l. 39, 2 *add*:—

Pausanias (I 8, 3) gives a short account of his death: *Δημοσθένης δὲ ὡς τὸ δεύτερον ἔφυγε, περαιοῦται καὶ τότε ἐς τὴν Καλαυρίαν, ἔνθα δὴ πιὼν φάρμακον ἐτελεύτησεν· φυγάδα τε Ἕλληνα μόνον τοῦτον Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν οὐκ ἀνήγαγεν Ἀρχίας...Δημοσθένει μὲν ἡ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἄγαν εὔνοια ἐς τοῦτο ἐχώρησεν· εὖ δέ μοι λελέχθαι δοκεῖ ἄνδρα ἀφειδῶς ἐκπεσόντα ἐς πολιτείαν καὶ πιστὰ ἡγησάμενον τὰ τοῦ δήμου μήποτε καλῶς τελευτῆσαι.* For that given by Strabo *Geogr.* VIII c. 6, 14, see CH. XXIX § 1 l. 2.

P. 131 CH. XXX § 5 l. 32, 2 *add*:—

According to *vit. X orr.* 847 C he left two sons by the same mother, a daughter of one Heliodorus, who outlived their father.

P. 132 CH. XXXI § 1 l. 6 *add*:—

The bronze statue of Demosthenes, erected in Athens B.C. 280, was the work of Polyeuctus. Two statues of a later date are traced ultimately by Professor Adolf Michaelis, the Strassburg archaeologist, to this;—viz. that found in Campania and now in Lord Sackville's collection at Knole Park, Sevenoaks, and that in the *Braccio Nuovo* of the Vatican Museum.

P. 176^b *add*:—

περιπίπτειν *θορύβοις* c. 6, 3.

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ

ΒΙΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΛΛΗΛΩΝ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΠΕΜΠΤΟΝ

Ed. Paris
a. 1624

ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ

846 1 Ὁ μὲν γράψας τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῆς Ὀλυμπίασιν ἱπποδρομίας εἰς Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐγκώμιον, εἴτ' Εὐριπίδης, ὡς ὁ πολὺς κρατεῖ λόγος, εἴθ' ἕτερός τις ἦν, ὦ Σόσσιε Σενεκίων, φησὶ χρῆναι τῷ εὐδαίμονι πρῶτον ὑπάρξαι τὰν πόλιν εὐδόκιμον· ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ μὲν εὐδαιμονήσειν μέλλοντι τὴν ἀληθινὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἧς ἐν ἤθει καὶ διαθέσει τὸ πλεῖστόν ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι διαφέρειν ἀδόξου καὶ ταπεινῆς πατρίδος ἢ μητρὸς ἀμόρφου καὶ μικρᾶς γενέσθαι. γελοῖον 2 γάρ, εἴ τις οἴοιτο τὴν Ἰουλίδα, μέρος μικρὸν οὖσαν οὐ μεγάλης νήσου τῆς Κέω, καὶ τὴν Αἴγιναν, ἣν τῶν Ἀττικῶν τις ἐκέλευεν ὡς λήμην τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀφελεῖν, ὑποκριτὰς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς τρέφειν καὶ ποιητάς, ἄνδρα δ' οὐκ ἄν ποτε δύνασθαι δίκαιον καὶ αὐτάρκη καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντα καὶ μεγαλόψυχον ἐξενεγκεῖν. τὰς 3

Reflexions personal to the author. It is mere prejudice to suppose that a man, to be happy, must have been born in some famous town. True happiness depends mostly on a man's own character and disposition.

μὲν γὰρ ἄλλας τέχνας εἰκός ἐστι, πρὸς ἐργασίαν ἢ δόξαν συνισταμένας, ἐν ταῖς ἀδόξοις καὶ ταπειναῖς πόλεσιν ἀπομαραίνεσθαι, τὴν δ᾽ ἀρετήν, ὥσπερ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ διαρκὲς φυτόν, ἐν ἅπαντι ῥιζοῦσθαι τόπῳ, φύσεώς γε χρηστῆς καὶ φιλοπόνου ψυχῆς ἐπιλαβομένην. ὅθεν οὐδ᾽ ἡμεῖς, εἴ τι τοῦ φρονεῖν ὡς δεῖ καὶ βιοῦν ἐλλείπομεν, τοῦτο τῇ μικρότητι τῆς πατρίδος, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοῖς δικαίως ἀναθήσομεν.

Whatever the author's own short-comings may be, they are certainly not due to the modest place of his birth.

II Τῷ μέντοι σύνταξιν ὑποβεβλημένῳ καὶ ἱστορίαν ἐξ οὐ προχείρων οὐδ᾽ οἰκείων, ἀλλὰ ξένων τε πολλῶν καὶ διεσπαρμένων ἐν ἑτέροις συνιοῦσαν ἀναγνωσμάτων, τῷ ὄντι χρὴ πρῶτον ὑπάρχειν καὶ μάλιστα τὰν πόλιν εὐδόκιμον καὶ φιλόκαλον καὶ πολυάνθρωπον, ὡς βιβλίων τε παντοδαπῶν ἀφθονίαν ἔχων, καί, ὅσα τοὺς γράφοντας διαφυγόντα σωτηρίᾳ μνήμης ἐπιφανεστέραν εἴληφε πίστιν, ὑπολαμβάνων ἀκοῇ καὶ διαπυνθανόμενος μηδενὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεὲς ἀποδιδοίη τὸ ἔργον.

To the historian, however, a great and populous and famous city is a prime necessity, for supplying the aids indispensable to his work.

2 Ἡμεῖς δὲ μικρὰν μὲν οἰκοῦντες πόλιν, καὶ ἵνα μὴ μικροτέρα γένηται φιλοχωροῦντες, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διατριβαῖς οὐ σχολῆς οὔσης γυμνάζεσθαι περὶ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον ὑπὸ χρειῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν διὰ φιλοσοφίαν πλησιαζόντων, ὀψέ ποτε καὶ πόρρω τῆς ἡλικίας ἠρξάμεθα Ῥω-
3 μαϊκοῖς συντάγμασιν ἐντυγχάνειν. καὶ πρᾶγμα θαυμαστὸν μέν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀληθὲς ἐπάσχομεν.

The author has not the advantage of living himself in such a city, and when at Rome, he had no time to study the Latin language, nor did he begin to do so until late in life, and not even then deeply enough to appreciate its formal beauties and niceties.

οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων τὰ πράγματα συνιέναι καὶ γνωρίζειν συνέβαινεν ἡμῖν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων, <ὧν> ἁμῶς γέ πως εἴχομεν ἐμπειρίαν, ἐπακολουθεῖν δι' αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι. κάλλους δὲ Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀπαγγελίας καὶ τάχους αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ μεταφορᾶς ὀνομάτων καὶ ἁρμονίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οἷς ὁ λόγος ἀγάλλεται, χάριεν μὲν ἡγούμεθα καὶ οὐκ ἀτερπές· ἡ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο μελέτη καὶ ἄσκησις οὐκ εὐχερής, ἀλλ' οἷστισι πλείων τε σχολὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς ὥρας ἔτι πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐπιχωρεῖ φιλοτιμίας.

847 III Διὸ καὶ γράφοντες ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ, τῶν παραλλήλων βίων ὄντι πέμπτῳ, περὶ Δημοσθένους καὶ Κικέρωνος, ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς διαθέσεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐπισκεψόμεθα· τὸ δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἀντεξετάζειν καὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι, πότερος ἡδίων ἢ δεινότερος ἦν εἰπεῖν, ἐάσομεν. κἀκεῖ γάρ, ὥς φησιν ὁ Ἴων, 2

In these two Lives, then—of Demosthenes and Cicero—he will not venture beyond his powers by attempting an examination and comparison of their speeches, but simply try to read their respective characters in the light of their actions and political careers.

δελφῖνος ἐν χέρσῳ βία,

ἣν ὁ περιττὸς ἐν ἅπασι Καικίλιος ἀγνοήσας ἐνεανιεύσατο σύγκρισιν τοῦ Δημοσθένους λόγου καὶ Κικέρωνος ἐξενεγκεῖν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως, εἰ παντὸς ἦν τὸ Γνῶθι σαυτὸν ἔχειν πρόχειρον, οὐκ ἂν ἐδόκει τὸ πρόσταγμα θεῖον εἶναι. Δημοσθένει γὰρ Κικέρωνα τὸν αὐτὸν ἔοικε πλάττων ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ δαίμων πολλὰς μὲν εἰς τὴν φύσιν ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτοῦ τῶν ὁμοιοτήτων, ὥσπερ τὸ φιλότιμον καὶ φιλελεύθερον ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, πρὸς δὲ κινδύνους καὶ πολέμους

Striking resemblance between their characters and the circumstances of their respective lives.

3 ἄτολμον, πολλὰ δ᾽ ἀναμῖξαι καὶ τῶν τυχηρῶν. δύο γὰρ ἑτέρους οὐκ ἂν εὑρεθῆναι δοκῶ ῥήτορας ἐκ μὲν ἀδόξων καὶ μικρῶν ἰσχυροὺς καὶ μεγάλους γενομένους, προσκρούσαντας δὲ βασιλεῦσι καὶ τυράννοις, θυγατέρας δ᾽ ἀποβαλόντας, ἐκπεσόντας δὲ τῶν πατρίδων, κατελθόντας δὲ μετὰ τιμῆς, ἀποδράντας δ᾽ αὖθις καὶ ληφθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ παυσαμένῃ τῇ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸν βίον
4 συγκαταστρέψαντας· ὥστε, εἰ γένοιτο τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ τύχῃ καθάπερ τεχνίταις ἅμιλλα, χαλεπῶς ἂν διακριθῆναι, πότερον αὕτη τοῖς τρόποις ἢ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐκείνη τοὺς ἄνδρας ὁμοιοτέρους ἀπείργασται.

Λεκτέον δὲ περὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου πρότερον.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΒΙΟΣ

The parentage of Demosthenes.

IV Δημοσθένης ὁ πατὴρ Δημοσθένους ἦν μὲν τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος, ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ μαχαιροποιὸς ἐργαστήριον ἔχων μέγα καὶ δούλους τεχνίτας τοὺς τοῦτο πράττοντας. ἃ δ᾽ Αἰσχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ εἴρηκε περὶ τῆς μητρός, ὡς ἐκ Γύλωνός τινος, ἐπ᾽ αἰτίᾳ προδοσίας φεύγοντος ἐξ ἄστεος, γεγόνοι καὶ βαρβάρου γυναικός, οὐκ ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν εἴτ᾽ ἀληθῶς εἴρηκεν εἴτε βλασφημῶν καὶ καταψευδόμενος.

His orphanhood.

2 Ἀπολειφθεὶς δ᾽ ὁ Δημοσθένης ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἑπταέτης ἐν εὐπορίᾳ (μικρὸν γὰρ ἀπέλιπεν ἡ σύμπασα τίμησις αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας πεντεκαίδεκα ταλάντων) ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἠδικήθη, τὰ μὲν νοσφισαμένων, τὰ δ᾽ ἀμελησάντων,

ὥστε καὶ τῶν διδασκάλων αὐτοῦ τὸν μισθὸν ἀπο-
στερῆσαι. διά τε δὴ τοῦτο τῶν ἐμμε- 3
λῶν καὶ προσηκόντων ἐλευθέρῳ παιδὶ
μαθημάτων ἀπαίδευτος δοκεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ διὰ τὴν
τοῦ σώματος ἀσθένειαν καὶ θρύψιν, οὐ προϊεμένης
τοῖς πόνοις τῆς μητρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲ προσβιαζομένων
τῶν παιδαγωγῶν· ἦν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κάτισχνος
καὶ νοσώδης.

His imperfect physical training.

Διὸ καὶ τὴν λοιδορουμένην
ἐπωνυμίαν, τὸν ΒΑΤΑΛΟΝ, εἰς τὸ σῶμα
λέγεται σκωπτόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων
λαβεῖν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Βάταλος, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοί 4
φασιν, αὐλητὴς τῶν κατεαγότων, καὶ δραμάτιον εἰς
τοῦτο, κωμῳδῶν αὐτόν, Ἀντιφάνης πεποίηκεν. ἔνιοι
δέ τινες ὡς ποιητοῦ τρυφερὰ καὶ παροίνια γράφοντος
τοῦ Βατάλου μέμνηνται. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τῶν οὐκ εὐ-
πρεπῶν τι λεχθῆναι τοῦ σώματος μορίων παρὰ τοῖς
Ἀττικοῖς τότε καλεῖσθαι βάταλος. Ὁ δ' 5
ἈΡΓΑΣ (καὶ τοῦτο γάρ φασι τῷ Δημοσθένει γενέσθαι
παρωνύμιον) ἢ πρὸς τὸν τρόπον, ὡς θηριώδη καὶ
πικρόν, ἐτέθη· τὸν γὰρ ὄφιν ἔνιοι τῶν ποιητῶν ἀργᾶν
ὀνομάζουσιν· ἢ πρὸς τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἀνιῶντα τοὺς
ἀκροωμένους· καὶ γὰρ Ἀργᾶς τοὔνομα ποιητὴς ἦν
νόμων πονηρῶν καὶ ἀργαλέων.

Origin of his nicknames Batalus and Argas.

V Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ταύτῃ· τῆς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
λόγους ὁρμῆς ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ φασι τοιαύ-
την γενέσθαι. Καλλιστράτου τοῦ ῥή-
τορος ἀγωνίζεσθαι τὴν περὶ Ὠρωποῦ
848 κρίσιν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ μέλλοντος ἦν προσδοκία
6 τῆς δίκης μεγάλη διά τε τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος δύναμιν,
ἀνθοῦντος τότε μάλιστα τῇ δόξῃ, καὶ διὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν
οὖσαν περιβόητον. ἀκούσας οὖν ὁ Δημοσθένης τῶν 2

A famous speech by Callistratus first fired him with the ambition to become an orator.

διδασκάλων καὶ τῶν παιδαγωγῶν συντιθεμένων τῇ
δίκῃ παρατυχεῖν, ἔπεισε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παιδαγωγὸν
δεόμενος καὶ προθυμούμενος, ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀγάγοι πρὸς
τὴν ἀκρόασιν. ὁ δ᾽ ἔχων πρὸς τοὺς ἀνοίγοντας τὰ
δικαστήρια δημοσίους συνήθειαν εὐπόρησε χώρας, ἐν
ᾗ καθήμενος ὁ παῖς ἀδήλως ἀκροάσεται τῶν λεγόντων.
3 εὐημερήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Καλλιστράτου καὶ θαυμα-
σθέντος ὑπερφυῶς, ἐκείνου μὲν ἐζήλωσε τὴν δόξαν
ὁρῶν προπεμπόμενον ὑπὸ [τῶν] πολλῶν καὶ μακαριζό-
μενον, τοῦ δὲ λόγου μᾶλλον ἐθαύμασε καὶ κατενόησε
τὴν ἰσχὺν ὡς πάντα χειροῦσθαι καὶ τιθασεύειν
πεφυκότος. ὅθεν ἐάσας τὰ λοιπὰ μαθήματα καὶ τὰς
παιδικὰς διατριβὰς αὐτὸς αὑτὸν ἤσκει καὶ διεπόνει
ταῖς μελέταις, ὡς ἂν τῶν λεγόντων ἐσόμενος καὶ
4 αὐτός. Ἐχρήσατο δ᾽ Ἰσαίῳ πρὸς τὸν
λόγον ὑφηγητῇ, καίπερ Ἰσοκράτους
τότε σχολάζοντος, εἴτε, ὥς τινες λέ-
γουσι, τὸν ὡρισμένον μισθὸν Ἰσοκράτει τελέσαι μὴ
δυνάμενος, τὰς δέκα μνᾶς, διὰ τὴν ὀρφανίαν, εἴτε
μᾶλλον τοῦ Ἰσαίου τὸν λόγον ὡς δραστήριον καὶ
5 πανοῦργον ἐπὶ τὴν χρείαν ἀποδεχόμενος. Ἕρμιπ-
πος δέ φησιν ἀδεσπότοις ὑπομνήμασιν ἐντυχεῖν, ἐν
οἷς ἐγέγραπτο τὸν Δημοσθένην συνεσχολακέναι
Πλάτωνι καὶ πλεῖστον εἰς τοὺς λόγους ὠφελῆσθαι,
Κτησιβίου δὲ μέμνηται λέγοντος παρὰ Καλλίου τοῦ
Συρακουσίου καί τινων ἄλλων καὶ τὰς Ἰσοκράτους
τέχνας καὶ τὰς Ἀλκιδάμαντος κρύφα λαβόντα τὸν
Δημοσθένην καταμαθεῖν.

His instructors and books of study.

VI Ὡς δ᾽ οὖν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενος τοῖς ἐπι-
τρόποις ἤρξατο δικάζεσθαι καὶ λογο-
γραφεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς πολλὰς διαδύσεις

His forensic success in the action a-

gainst his guardians induces him to appear as a public speaker.

καὶ παλινδικίας εὑρίσκοντας, ἐγγυμνασάμενος, κατὰ τὸν Θουκυδίδην, ταῖς μελέταις οὐκ ἀκινδύνως οὐδ' ἀργῶς, κατευτυχήσας ἐκπρᾶξαι μὲν οὐδὲ πολλοστὸν ἠδυνήθη μέρος τῶν πατρῴων, τόλμαν δὲ πρὸς τὸ λέγειν καὶ συνήθειαν ἱκανὴν λαβὼν καὶ γευσάμενος τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας φιλοτιμίας καὶ δυνάμεως, ἐνεχείρησεν εἰς μέσον παριέναι καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν. καί—καθάπερ 2
Λαομέδοντα τὸν Ὀρχομένιον λέγουσι καχεξίαν τινὰ σπληνὸς ἀμυνόμενον δρόμοις μακροῖς χρῆσθαι τῶν ἰατρῶν κελευσάντων, εἶθ' οὕτως διαπονήσαντα τὴν ἕξιν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς στεφανίταις ἀγῶσι καὶ τῶν ἄκρων γενέσθαι δολιχοδρόμων—οὕτως τῷ Δημοσθένει συνέβη τὸ πρῶτον ἐπανορθώσεως ἕνεκα τῶν ἰδίων ἀποδύντι πρὸς τὸ λέγειν, ἐκ τούτου, κτησαμένῳ δεινότητα καὶ δύναμιν, ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἤδη καθάπερ στεφανίταις ἀγῶσι πρωτεύειν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἀγωνιζομένων πολιτῶν. Καίτοι τό γε πρῶτον 3
ἐντυγχάνων τῷ δήμῳ θορύβοις περιέπιπτε καὶ κατεγελᾶτο δι' ἀήθειαν, τοῦ λόγου συγκεχύσθαι ταῖς περιόδοις καὶ βεβασανίσθαι τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν ἄγαν πικρῶς καὶ κατακόρως δοκοῦντος. ἦν δέ τις, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ φωνῆς ἀσθένεια καὶ γλώττης ἀσάφεια καὶ πνεύματος κολοβότης ἐπιταράττουσα τὸν νοῦν τῶν λεγομένων τῷ διεσπάσθαι τὰς περιόδους. τέλος δ' ἀποστάντα τοῦ 4
δήμου καὶ ῥεμβόμενον ἐν Πειραιεῖ δι' ἀθυμίαν Εὔνομος ὁ Θριάσιος, ἤδη πάνυ γέρων, θεασάμενος ἐπετίμησεν, ὅτι τὸν λόγον ἔχων ὁμοιότατον τῷ Περικλέους προδίδωσιν ὑπ' ἀτολμίας καὶ μαλακίας ἑαυτόν, οὔτε τοὺς ὄχλους ὑφιστάμενος εὐθαρσῶς, οὔτε τὸ

His first speech ill received and why. Encouragement and advice of Eunomus.

σῶμα πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐξαρτυόμενος, ἀλλὰ τρυφῇ
1 περιορῶν μαραινόμενον.

VII Πάλιν δέ ποτέ φασιν, ἐκπεσόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπιόντος 849
οἴκαδε συγκεχυμένου καὶ βαρέως φέροντος, ἐπακολουθῆσαι Σάτυρον τὸν ὑποκριτὴν ἐπιτήδειον ὄντα καὶ συνεισελθεῖν. ὀδυρομένου δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι, πάντων φιλοπονώτατος ὢν τῶν λεγόντων καὶ μικροῦ δέων καταναλωκέναι τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀκμὴν εἰς τοῦτο, χάριν οὐκ ἔχει πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ἀλλὰ κραιπαλῶντες ἄνθρωποι ναῦται καὶ ἀμαθεῖς ἀκούονται καὶ κατέχουσι τὸ βῆμα, παρορᾶται δ'
2 αὐτός, ''Ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ὦ Δημόσθενες' φάναι τον Σάτυρον 'ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τὸ αἴτιον ἰάσομαι ταχέως, ἄν μοι τῶν Εὐριπίδου τινὰ ῥήσεων ἢ Σοφοκλέους ἐθελήσῃς εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ στόματος.' εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους μεταλαβόντα τὸν Σάτυρον οὕτω πλάσαι καὶ διεξελθεῖν ἐν ἤθει πρέποντι καὶ διαθέσει τὴν αὐτὴν ῥῆσιν, ὥστ' εὐθὺς ὅλως ἑτέραν τῷ Δημοσθένει φανῆναι· πεισθέντα δ' ὅσον ἐκ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως τῷ λόγῳ κόσμου καὶ χάριτος πρόσεστι, μικρὸν ἡγήσασθαι καὶ τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι τὴν ἄσκησιν ἀμελοῦντι τῆς προφορᾶς καὶ διαθέσεως τῶν λεγομένων.

His rebuff on a second occasion disposed him to listen to the advice of the actor Satyrus.

3 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατάγειον μὲν οἰκοδομῆσαι μελετητήριον, ὃ δὴ διεσῴζετο καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἐνταῦθα δὲ πάντως μὲν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας κατιόντα πλάττειν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ διαπονεῖν τὴν φωνήν, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ μῆνας ἑξῆς δύο καὶ τρεῖς συνάπτειν, ξυρούμενον τῆς κεφαλῆς θάτερον μέρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲ βουλομένῳ πάνυ προελθεῖν ἐνδέχεσθαι δι'

He had a subterranean chamber built where he shut himself up for daily practise and improvement in elocution and delivery.

αἰσχύνην. VIII Οὐ *μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς* 1
πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ἐντεύξεις καὶ λόγους καὶ ἀσχολίας ὑποθέσεις ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἀφορμὰς τοῦ φιλοπονεῖν· ἀπαλλαγεὶς γὰρ αὐτῶν τάχιστα κατέβαινεν εἰς τὸ μελετητήριον, καὶ διεξῄει τάς τε πράξεις ἐφεξῆς καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολογισμούς. ἔτι δὲ τοὺς λόγους, οἷς παρ- 2
έτυχε λεγομένοις, ἀναλαμβάνων πρὸς ἑαυτὸν εἰς γνώμας ἀνῆγε καὶ περιόδους, ἐπανορθώσεις τε παντοδαπὰς καὶ μεταφράσεις ἐκαινοτόμει τῶν εἰρημένων ὑφ' ἑτέρου πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἢ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ πάλιν πρὸς ἄλλον. Ἐκ *τούτου δόξαν ἔσχεν ὡς οὐκ εὐφυὴς ὤν, ἀλλ' ἐκ πόνου συγκειμένῃ δεινότητι καὶ δυνάμει χρώμενος. ἐδόκει δὲ* 3
τούτου σημεῖον εἶναι μέγα τὸ μὴ ῥᾳδίως ἀκοῦσαί τινα Δημοσθένους ἐπὶ καιροῦ λέγοντος, ἀλλὰ καθήμενον ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πολλάκις τοῦ δήμου καλοῦντος ὀνομαστὶ μὴ παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τύχοι πεφροντικὼς καὶ παρεσκευασμένος. εἰς τοῦτο δ' ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἐχλεύαζον αὐτὸν καὶ Πυ*θέας ἐπισκώπτων ἐλλυχνίων ἔφησεν ὄζειν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἠμείψατο* 4
πικρῶς ὁ Δημοσθένης· 'Οὐ *ταὐτὰ γάρ' εἶπεν 'ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ ὁ λύχνος, ὦ* Πυ*θέα, σύνοιδεν.' πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐ παντάπασιν ἦν ἔξαρνος, ἀλλ' οὔτε γράψας οὔτ' ἄγραφα κομιδῇ λέγειν ὡμολόγει. καὶ μέντοι δημοτικὸν ἀπέφαινεν ἄνδρα τὸν λέγειν μελετῶντα· θεραπείας γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτο δήμου παρασκευήν, τὸ δ' ὅπως ἕξουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἀφροντισ-*

How he turned to account his conversation with visitors.

His great laboriousness gave rise to a general impression that he had not much natural aptitude for speaking.

A taunt of Pytheas to this effect and the retort of Demosthenes.

Reason why Demosthenes objected to speak on any subject without due preparation.

τεῖν ὀλιγαρχικοῦ καὶ βίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ πειθοῖ προσ-
5 έχοντος. τῆς δὲ πρὸς καιρὸν ἀτολμίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦνται σημεῖον, ὅτι Δημάδης μὲν ἐκείνῳ θορυβηθέντι πολλάκις ἀναστὰς ἐκ προχείρου συνεῖπεν, ἐκεῖνος δ' οὐδέποτε Δημάδῃ.

When, however, on some momentous occasion he did allow himself to speak offhand, he spoke with the most brilliant success.

IX Πόθεν οὖν, φαίη τις ἄν, ὁ Αἰσχίνης πρὸς τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τόλμαν θαυμασιώτατον ἀποκαλεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα; πῶς δὲ καὶ Πύθωνι τῷ Βυζαντίῳ θρασυνομένῳ καὶ ῥέοντι πολλῷ κατὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀναστὰς μόνος ἀντεῖπεν; ἢ Λαμάχου τοῦ Μυριναίου γεγραφότος ἐγκώμιον Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Φιλίππου τῶν βασιλέων, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ Θηβαίους καὶ
2 Ὀλυνθίους εἰρήκει κακῶς, καὶ τοῦτ' ἀναγινώσκοντος Ὀλυμπίασι παραναστὰς καὶ διεξελθὼν μεθ' ἱστορίας καὶ ἀποδείξεως ὅσα Θηβαίοις καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσιν 850
ὑπάρχει καλὰ πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ πάλιν ὅσων αἴτιοι γεγόνασι κακῶν οἱ κολακεύοντες Μακεδόνας, οὕτως ἐπέστρεψε τοὺς παρόντας, ὥστε δείσαντα τῷ θορύβῳ τὸν σοφιστὴν ὑπεκδῦναι τῆς πανηγύρεως;
3 ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῦ Περικλέους τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καλὰ μὴ πρὸς αὑτὸν ἡγήσασθαι, τὸ δὲ πλάσμα καὶ τὸν σχηματισμὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ μὴ ταχέως μηδὲ περὶ παντὸς ἐκ τοῦ παρισταμένου λέγειν, ὥσπερ ἐκ τούτων μεγάλου γεγονότος, ζηλῶν καὶ μιμούμενος, οὐ πάνυ προσίεσθαι τὴν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ δόξαν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῇ τύχῃ πολλάκις ἑκὼν εἶναι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν.

Herein he imitated the cautious and reserved deportment of Pericles.

4 Ἐπεὶ τόλμαν γε καὶ θάρσος οἱ λεχθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι τῶν γραφέντων μᾶλλον εἶχον, εἴ τι δεῖ πιστεύειν Ἐρατοσθένει καὶ

Testimony of ancient authors to the inspiration to which

Δημητρίῳ τῷ Φαληρεῖ καὶ τοῖς κωμικοῖς. ὧν Ἐρατοσθένης μέν φησιν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις πολλαχοῦ γεγονέναι παράβακχον, ὁ δὲ Φαληρεὺς τὸν ἔμμετρον ἐκεῖνον ὅρκον ὀμόσαι ποτὲ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶντα

he sometimes yielded in speaking.

μὰ γῆν, μὰ κρήνας, μὰ ποταμούς, μὰ νάματα.

τῶν δὲ κωμικῶν ὁ μέν τις αὐτὸν ἀποκαλεῖ ῥωπο- 5
περπερήθραν, ὁ δὲ παρασκώπτων ὡς χρώμενον τῷ ἀντιθέτῳ φησὶν οὕτως

ἀπέλαβεν ὥσπερ ἔλαβεν. — ἠγάπησέ γ' ἂν
τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο παραλαβὼν Δημοσθένης.

ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία πρὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἁλοννήσου λόγον ὁ Ἀντιφάνης καὶ τουτὶ πέπαιχεν, ἣν Ἀθηναίοις Δημοσθένης συνεβούλευε μὴ λαμβάνειν ἀλλ' ἀπολαμβάνειν παρὰ Φιλίππου.

X Πλὴν τόν γε Δημάδην πάντες ὡμολόγουν τῇ φύσει χρώμενον ἀνίκητον εἶναι καὶ παραφέρειν αὐτοσχεδιάζοντα τὰς τοῦ Δημοσθένους σκέψεις καὶ παρασκευάς. Ἀρίστων δ' ὁ Χῖος καὶ Θεοφράστου τινὰ δόξαν ἱστόρηκε περὶ τῶν ῥητόρων. ἐρωτηθέντα γάρ, ὁποῖός τις αὐτῷ φαίνεται ῥήτωρ ὁ Δημοσθένης, εἰπεῖν "Ἄξιος τῆς πόλεως"· ὁποῖος δέ τις ὁ Δημάδης, "Ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν." Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς 2
φιλόσοφος Πολύευκτον ἱστορεῖ τὸν Σφήττιον, ἕνα τῶν τότε πολιτευομένων Ἀθήνησιν, ἀποφαίνεσθαι μέγιστον μὲν εἶναι ῥήτορα τὸν Δημοσθένην, δυνατώτατον δ' εἰπεῖν Φωκίωνα· πλεῖστον γὰρ ἐν βραχυτάτῃ λέξει νοῦν ἐκφέρειν. Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην

Judgment of their contemporaries on Demosthenes and Demades;

on Demosthenes and Phocion;

of Demosthenes himself on Phocion.

φασὶν αὐτόν, ὁσάκις ἀντερῶν αὐτῷ
Φωκίων ἀναβαίνοι, λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς
συνήθεις “Ἡ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων κοπὶς ἀνίσταται.”
3 τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἄδηλον εἴτε πρὸς τὸν λόγον τοῦ
ἀνδρὸς ὁ Δημοσθένης εἴτε πρὸς τὸν βίον καὶ τὴν
δόξαν ἐπεπόνθει, πολλῶν πάνυ καὶ μακρῶν περιόδων
ἓν ῥῆμα καὶ νεῦμα πίστιν ἔχοντος ἀνθρώπου κυριώ-
1 τερον ἡγούμενος. XI Τοῖς δὲ σωματ-

The efforts of Demosthenes to remedy his faults of delivery.

ικοῖς ἐλαττώμασι τοιαύτην ἐπῆγεν
ἄσκησιν, ὡς ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος
ἱστορεῖ, λέγων αὐτοῦ Δημοσθένους
ἀκούειν πρεσβύτου γεγονότος· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀσά-
φειαν καὶ τραυλότητα τῆς γλώττης ἐκβιάζεσθαι καὶ
διαρθροῦν εἰς τὸ στόμα ψήφους λαμβάνοντα καὶ
2 ῥήσεις ἅμα λέγοντα, τὴν δὲ φωνὴν γυμνάζειν ἐν
τοῖς δρόμοις καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τὰ σίμ᾽ ἀναβάσεσι δια-
λεγόμενον καὶ λόγους τινὰς ἢ στίχους ἅμα τῷ
πνεύματι πυκνουμένῳ προφερόμενον· εἶναι δ᾽ αὐτῷ
μέγα κάτοπτρον οἴκοι, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τὰς μελέτας
ἱστάμενον ἐξ ἐναντίας περαίνειν.

Λέγεται δ᾽ ἀνθρώπου προσελθόντος αὐτῷ δεομέ-

Anecdote illustrating the importance he attached to action and tone of voice for producing conviction in his hearers.

νου συνηγορίας καὶ διεξιόντος ὡς ὑπό
του λάβοι πληγάς, “Ἀλλὰ σύ γε”
φάναι τὸν Δημοσθένην “τούτων ὧν
3 λέγεις οὐδὲν πέπονθας.” ἐπιτείναντος
δὲ τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ βοῶντος “Ἐγώ,
Δημόσθενες, οὐδὲν πέπονθα;” “Νὴ Δία” φάναι
“νῦν ἀκούω φωνὴν ἀδικουμένου καὶ πεπονθότος.”
οὕτως ᾤετο μέγα πρὸς πίστιν εἶναι τὸν τόνον καὶ
τὴν ὑπόκρισιν τῶν λεγόντων. τοῖς μὲν οὖν πολλοῖς 851
ὑποκρινόμενος ἤρεσκε θαυμαστῶς, οἱ δὲ χαρίεντες

ταπεινὸν ἡγοῦντο καὶ ἀγεννὲς αὐτοῦ τὸ πλάσμα καὶ μαλακόν, ὧν καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς ἐστιν.

Αἰσίωνα δέ φησιν Ἕρμιππος, ἐρωτηθέντα περὶ 4
τῶν πάλαι ῥητόρων καὶ τῶν καθ᾽ αὑτὸν, εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀκούων μὲν ἄν τις ἐθαύμασεν ἐκείνους εὐκόσμως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τῷ δήμῳ διαλεγομένους, ἀναγινωσκόμενοι δ᾽ οἱ Δημοσθένους λόγοι πολὺ τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ δυνάμει διαφέρουσιν.

Aesion's opinion of the old and of contemporary speakers and in particular of Demosthenes.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν γεγραμμένοι τῶν λόγων ὅτι τὸ αὐστηρὸν πολὺ καὶ πικρὸν ἔχουσι, τί ἂν λέγοι τις; ἐν δὲ ταῖς παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἀπαντήσεσιν ἐχρῆτο καὶ τῷ γελοίῳ. Δημάδου μὲν 5
γὰρ εἰπόντος ‘Ἐμὲ Δημοσθένης, ἡ ὗς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν,’ ‘Αὕτη’ εἶπεν ‘ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ πρώην ἐν Κολλυτῷ μοιχεύουσα ἐλήφθη.’ πρὸς δὲ τὸν κλέπτην, ὃς ἐπεκαλεῖτο Χαλκοῦς, καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς ἀγρυπνίας αὐτοῦ καὶ νυκτογραφίας πειρώμενόν τι λέγειν ‘Οἶδα’ εἶπεν ‘ὅτι σε λυπῶ λύχνον καίων. ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ 6
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ θαυμάζετε τὰς γινομένας κλοπάς, ὅταν τοὺς μὲν κλέπτας χαλκοῦς, τοὺς δὲ τοίχους πηλίνους ἔχωμεν.’ ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων καίπερ ἔτι πλείω λέγειν ἔχοντες ἐνταῦθα παυσόμεθα· τὸν δ᾽ ἄλλον αὐτοῦ τρόπον καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας θεωρεῖσθαι δίκαιόν ἐστιν.

Some piquant extempore repartees of Demosthenes.

XII Ὥρμησε μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ Φωκικοῦ πολέμου συνεστῶτος, ὡς αὐτός τέ φησι καὶ λαβεῖν ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν δημηγοριῶν. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἤδη διαπεπραγμένων ἐκείνων γεγόνασιν, αἱ δὲ πρεσβύταται τῶν ἔγγιστα πραγμάτων

Beginning of his political career coincident with that of the Phocian War. His suit against Midias.

ἅπτονται. δῆλος δ᾽ ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν κατὰ Μειδίου παρασκευασάμενος εἰπεῖν δίκην δύο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη, μηδέπω δ᾽ ἔχων ἰσχὺν ἐν τῇ
2 πολιτείᾳ μηδὲ δόξαν. ὃ καὶ μάλιστά μοι δοκεῖ δείσας ἐπ᾽ ἀργυρίῳ καταθέσθαι τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχθραν·

οὐ γάρ τι γλυκύθυμος ἀνὴρ ἦν οὐδ᾽ ἀγανόφρων,

ἀλλ᾽ ἔντονος καὶ βίαιος πρὸς τὰς ἀμύνας. ὁρῶν δ᾽ οὐ φαῦλον οὐδὲ τῆς αὑτοῦ δυνάμεως ἔργον <ὄν> ἄνδρα καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ φίλοις εὖ πεφραγμένον καθελεῖν, τὸν Μειδίαν, ἐνέδωκε τοῖς ὑπὲρ
3 αὐτοῦ δεομένοις. αἱ δὲ τρισχίλιαι καθ᾽ ἑαυτὰς οὐκ ἄν μοι δοκοῦσι τὴν Δημοσθένους ἀμβλῦναι πικρίαν, ἐλπίζοντος καὶ δυναμένου περιγενέσθαι.

Position which he assumed as opponent of Philip. The brilliancy of his orations against that king won for him general admiration.

Λαβὼν δὲ τῆς πολιτείας καλὴν ὑπόθεσιν τὴν πρὸς Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δικαιολογίαν καὶ πρὸς ταύτην ἀγωνιζόμενος ἀξίως, ταχὺ δόξαν ἔσχε καὶ περίβλεπτος ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων ἤρθη καὶ τῆς παρρησίας, ὥστε θαυμάζεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, θεραπεύεσθαι δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου
4 βασιλέως, πλεῖστον δ᾽ αὐτοῦ λόγον εἶναι παρὰ τῷ Φιλίππῳ τῶν δημαγωγούντων, ὁμολογεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπεχθανομένους, ὅτι πρὸς ἔνδοξον αὐτοῖς ἄνθρωπον ὁ ἀγών ἐστι. καὶ γὰρ Αἰσχίνης καὶ Ὑπερείδης τοιαῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ κατηγοροῦντες εἰρήκασιν.

Theopompus is unjust in taxing him with inconsistency in his political opinions. In this respect he

XIII Ὅθεν οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως παρέστη Θεοπόμπῳ λέγειν, αὐτὸν ἀβέβαιον τῷ τρόπῳ γεγονέναι καὶ μήτε πράγμασι μήτ᾽ ἀνθρώποις πολὺν χρόνον τοῖς αὐτοῖς

ἐπιμένειν δυνάμενον. φαίνεται γὰρ,
εἰς ἣν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τῶν πραγμάτων με-
ρίδα καὶ τάξιν αὑτὸν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ κατέστησε,
ταύτην ἄχρι τοῦ τέλους διαφυλάξας καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν
τῷ βίῳ μὴ μεταβαλόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν βίον ἐπὶ τῷ
μὴ μεταβαλέσθαι προέμενος. οὐ γάρ,—ὡς Δημάδης 2
ἀπολογούμενος τὴν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μεταβολὴν ἔλεγεν,
αὑτῷ μὲν αὐτὸς τἀναντία πολλάκις εἰρηκέναι, τῇ δὲ
πόλει μηδέποτε, καὶ Μελάνωπος ἀντιπολιτευόμενος
Καλλιστράτῳ καὶ πολλάκις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χρήμασι
852 μετατιθέμενος εἰώθει λέγειν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον "Ὁ μὲν
ἀνὴρ ἐχθρός, τὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως νικάτω συμφέρον,'
Νικόδημος δ' ὁ Μεσσήνιος Κασσάνδρῳ προστιθέ- 3
μενος πρότερον, εἶτ' αὖθις ὑπὲρ Δημητρίου πολιτευό-
μενος οὐκ ἔφη τἀναντία λέγειν, ἀεὶ γὰρ εἶναι συμφέρον
ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν κρατούντων,—οὕτως καὶ περὶ Δη-
μοσθένους ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν οἷον ἐκτρεπομένου καὶ
πλαγιάζοντος ἢ φωνὴν ἢ πρᾶξιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀφ'
ἑνὸς καὶ ἀμεταβόλου διαγράμματος τῆς πολιτείας ἕνα
τόνον ἔχων ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀεὶ διετέλεσεν.

was quite unlike Demades, Melanopus and Nicodemus.

Παναίτιος δ' ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ 4
φησὶν οὕτω γεγράφθαι τοὺς πλείστους, ὡς μόνου τοῦ
καλοῦ δι' αὑτὸ αἱρετοῦ ὄντος, τὸν
περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου, τὸν κατ' Ἀριστοκράτους, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀτελειῶν, τοὺς Φιλιππικούς· ἐν οἷς
πᾶσιν οὐ πρὸς τὸ ἥδιστον ἢ ῥᾷστον ἢ λυσιτελέστα-
τον ἄγει τοὺς πολίτας, ἀλλὰ πολλαχοῦ καὶ τὴν
ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν οἴεται δεῖν ἐν δευτέρᾳ
τάξει τοῦ καλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ πρέποντος, ὡς, 5
εἴγε τῇ περὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις αὐτοῦ φιλοτιμίᾳ

Testimony borne by the philosopher Panaetius to the noble sentiments expressed by him in most of his speeches.

He was not so great a man as Cimon, Thucydides or Pericles, though he might have ranked on a level with them, had he but shown more military courage and greater disinterestedness.

καὶ τῇ τῶν λόγων εὐγενείᾳ παρῆν ἀνδρεία τε πολεμιστήριος καὶ τὸ καθαρῶς ἕκαστα πράττειν, οὐκ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μοιροκλέα καὶ Πολύευκτον καὶ Ὑπερείδην ἀριθμῷ τῶν ῥητόρων, ἀλλ' ἄνω μετὰ Κίμωνος καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους ἄξιος ἦν τίθεσθαι.

XIV

Thus the valour and integrity of Phocion, his contemporary, placed him, in spite of his political prejudices, on a level with Aristides, Cimon and Ephialtes.

1 Τῶν γοῦν κατ' αὐτὸν ὁ Φωκίων οὐκ ἐπαινουμένης προϊστάμενος πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ δοκῶν μακεδονίζειν, ὅμως δι' ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ χείρων ἔδοξεν Ἐφιάλτου καὶ Ἀριστείδου καὶ Κίμωνος ἀνὴρ γενέσθαι.

2 Δημοσθένης δ' οὐκ ὢν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀξιόπιστος, ὥς φησιν ὁ Δημήτριος, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ λαμβάνειν παντάπασιν ἀπωχυρωμένος, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν παρὰ Φιλίππου καὶ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἀνάλωτος ὤν, τῷ δ' ἄνωθεν ἐκ Σούσων καὶ Ἐγβατάνων ἐπιβατὸς χρυσίῳ γεγονὼς καὶ κατακεκλυσμένος, ἐπαινέσαι μὲν ἱκανώτατος ἦν τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλά, μιμήσασθαι δ' οὐχ ὁμοίως. ἐπεὶ τούς γε καθ' αὐτὸν ῥήτορας (ἔξω δὲ λόγου τίθεμαι Φωκίωνα) καὶ τῷ βίῳ παρῆλθε.

His general firmness of purpose in resisting popular caprice exemplified.

3 Φαίνεται δὲ καὶ μετὰ παρρησίας μάλιστα τῷ δήμῳ διαλεγόμενος καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν πολλῶν ἀντιτείνων καὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν ἐπιφυόμενος, ὡς ἐκ τῶν λόγων αὐτῶν λαβεῖν ἔστιν. ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ Θεόπομπος ὅτι, τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπί τινα προβαλλομένων αὐτὸν κατηγορίαν, ὡς δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουε, θορυβουμένων, ἀναστὰς εἶπεν "Ὑμεῖς ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, συμβούλῳ μέν, κἂν μὴ θέλητε, χρήσεσθε·

συκοφάντῃ δ', οὐδ' ἂν θέλητε.' Σφόδρα 4
δ' ἀριστοκρατικὸν αὐτοῦ πολίτευμα καὶ τὸ περὶ
Ἀντιφῶντος· ὃν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀφεθέντα συλλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν ἀνήγαγε, καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν τὸ προσκροῦσαι τῷ δήμῳ θέμενος ἤλεγξεν ὑπεσχημένον Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεώρια ἐμπρήσειν· καὶ παραδοθεὶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπέθανε. κατηγόρησε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἱερείας Θεωρίδος ὡς ἄλλα τε ῥᾳδιουργούσης πολλὰ καὶ τοὺς δούλους ἐξαπατᾶν διδασκούσης· καὶ θανάτου τιμησάμενος ἀπέκτεινε.

XV Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸν κατὰ 1
Τιμοθέου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ λόγον, ᾧ χρησάμενος Ἀπολλόδωρος εἷλε τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ ὀφλήματος, Δημοσθένης γράψαι τῷ Ἀπολλοδώρῳ, καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς Φορμίωνα καὶ Στέφανον, ἐφ' οἷς εἰκότως ἠδόξησε. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Φορμίων ἠγωνίζετο λόγῳ Δημοσθένους πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλόδωρον, ἀτεχνῶς καθάπερ ἐξ ἑνὸς μαχαιροπωλίου τὰ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐγχειρίδια πωλοῦντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀντιδίκοις.

He is justly blamed for composing speeches for two opposite parties in a private suit.

Τῶν δὲ δημοσίων 2
λόγων ὁ μὲν κατ' Ἀνδροτίωνος καὶ Τιμοκράτους καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους ἑτέροις ἐγράφησαν, οὔπω τῇ
853 πολιτείᾳ προσεληλυθότος αὐτοῦ· δοκεῖ γὰρ δυεῖν ἢ τριῶν δέοντα ἔτη τριάκοντα γεγονὼς ἐξενεγκεῖν τοὺς λόγους ἐκείνους· τὸν δὲ κατ' Ἀριστογείτονος αὐτὸς ἠγωνίσατο, καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἀτελειῶν διὰ τὸν Χαβρίου παῖδα Κτήσιππον, ὥς φησιν αὐτός, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσι, τὴν μητέρα τοῦ νεανίσκου μνώμενος.
οὐ μὴν ἔγημε ταύτην, ἀλλὰ Σαμίᾳ τινὶ συνῴκησεν, ὡς 3
ἱστορεῖ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς περὶ συν-

Some of his court speeches in public causes were written for others.

ωνύμων. Ὁ δὲ κατ' Αἰσχίνου περὶ τῆς παραπρεσβείας ἄδηλον εἰ λέλεκται· καίτοι φησὶν Ἰδομενεὺς παρὰ τριάκοντα μόνας τὸν Αἰσχίνην ἀποφυγεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔοικεν οὕτως ἔχειν τἀληθές, εἰ δεῖ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου γεγραμμένοις ἑκατέρων λόγοις τεκμαίρεσθαι. μέμνηται γὰρ οὐδέτερος αὐτῶν ἐναργῶς οὐδὲ τρανῶς ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὡς ἄχρι δίκης προελθόντος. Ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ἕτεροι διακρινοῦσι μᾶλλον.

Demosthenes, as principal opponent of Philip. His reply to that king's flatterers.

XVI Ἡ δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους πολιτεία φανερὰ μὲν ἦν ἔτι καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑπαρχούσης οὐδὲν ἐῶντος ἀνεπιτίμητον τῶν πραττομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνος, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ ταράττοντος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ διακαίοντος ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. διὸ καὶ παρὰ Φιλίππῳ πλεῖστος ἦν λόγος αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὅτε πρεσβεύων δέκατος ἧκεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἤκουσε μὲν ἁπάντων ὁ Φίλιππος, ἀντεῖπε δὲ μετὰ πλείστης ἐπιμελείας πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνου λόγον.
2 οὐ μὴν ἔν γε ταῖς ἄλλαις τιμαῖς καὶ φιλοφροσύναις ὅμοιον αὐτὸν τῷ Δημοσθένει παρεῖχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσήγετο τοὺς περὶ Αἰσχίνην καὶ Φιλοκράτην μᾶλλον. ὅθεν ἐπαινούντων ἐκείνων τὸν Φίλιππον, ὡς καὶ λέγειν δυνατώτατον καὶ κάλλιστον ὀφθῆναι καὶ νὴ Δία συμπιεῖν ἱκανώτατον, ἠναγκάζετο βασκαίνων ἐπισκώπτειν, ὡς τὸ μὲν σοφιστοῦ, τὸ δὲ γυναικός, τὸ δὲ σπογγιᾶς εἴη, βασιλέως δ' οὐδὲν ἐγκώμιον.

Outbreak of hostilities between the Athenians and Macedonians. Zealous ac-

XVII Ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἔρρεπε τὰ πράγματα, τοῦ μὲν Φιλίππου μὴ δυναμένου τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων ἐγειρομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δη-

μοσθένους, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Εὔβοιαν
ἐξώρμησε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καταδεδου-
λωμένην ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων Φιλίππῳ·
καὶ διαβάντες, ἐκείνου τὸ ψήφισμα γράψαντος,
ἐξήλασαν τοὺς Μακεδόνας. δεύτερον δὲ Βυζαντίοις 2
ἐβοήθησε καὶ Περινθίοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακεδόνος πολε-
μουμένοις, πείσας τὸν δῆμον, ἀφέντα τὴν ἔχθραν
καὶ τὸ μεμνῆσθαι τῶν περὶ τὸν συμμαχικὸν ἡμαρτη-
μένων ἑκατέροις πόλεμον, ἀποστεῖλαι δύναμιν αὐτοῖς,
ὑφ' ἧς ἐσώθησαν. ἔπειτα πρεσβεύων καὶ διαλεγό- 3
μενος τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ παροξύνων συνέστησε πλὴν
ὀλίγων ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον, ὥστε σύνταξιν
γενέσθαι πεζῶν μὲν μυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων,
ἱππέων δὲ δισχιλίων, ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων,
χρήματα δὲ καὶ μισθοὺς εἰσφέρεσθαι τοῖς ξένοις
προθύμως. ὅτε καί φησι Θεόφραστος, ἀξιούντων
τῶν συμμάχων ὁρισθῆναι τὰς εἰσφοράς, εἰπεῖν Κρω-
βύλον τὸν δημαγωγόν, ὡς οὐ τεταγμένα σιτεῖται
πόλεμος.

tivity of Demosthenes in urging the Greeks to combine and resist the encroachments of Philip.

Ἐπηρμένης δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρὸς τὸ μέλλον καὶ 4
συνισταμένων κατ' ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις
Εὐβοέων, Ἀχαιῶν, Κορινθίων, Με-
γαρέων, Λευκαδίων, Κερκυραίων, ὁ μέ-
γιστος ὑπελείπετο τῷ Δημοσθένει τῶν
ἀγώνων, Θηβαίους προσαγαγέσθαι τῇ συμμαχίᾳ,
χώραν τε σύνορον τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ δύναμιν ἐναγώ-
νιον ἔχοντας, καὶ μάλιστα τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐ-
δοκιμοῦντας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ἦν δ' οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἐπὶ 5
προσφάτοις εὐεργετήμασι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Φωκικὸν
πόλεμον τετιθασευμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου μετα-
στῆσαι τοὺς Θηβαίους, καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς διὰ τὴν

After the capture of Elatea, he succeeds in detaching the Thebans from their alliance with Philip,

γειτνίασιν ἀψιμαχίαις ἀναξαινομένων ἑκάστοτε τῶν πολεμικῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλας διαφορῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

XVIII Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ Φίλιππος ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ 854
τὴν Ἄμφισσαν εὐτυχίας ἐπαιρόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἐλάτειαν ἐξαίφνης ἐνέπεσε καὶ τὴν Φωκίδα κατέσχεν, ἐκπεπληγμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ μηδενὸς τολμῶντος ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα μηδὲ ἔχοντος ὅ τι χρὴ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἀπορίας οὔσης ἐν μέσῳ καὶ σιωπῆς, παρελθὼν μόνος ὁ Δημοσθένης συνεβούλευε τῶν Θηβαίων ἔχεσθαι· καὶ τἆλλα παραθαρρύνας καὶ μετεωρίσας, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὸν δῆμον ἀπεστάλη πρεσβευτὴς μεθ' ἑτέρων εἰς Θήβας.
2 ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος, ὡς Μαρσύας φησίν, Ἀμύνταν μὲν καὶ Κλέαρχον Μακεδόνας, Δάοχον δὲ Θεσσαλὸν καὶ Θρασυδαῖον ἀντεροῦντας.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν συμφέρον οὐ διέφευγε τοὺς τῶν Θηβαίων λογισμούς, ἀλλ' ἐν ὄμμασιν ἕκαστος εἶχε τὰ τοῦ πολέμου δεινά, τῶν Φωκικῶν ἔτι τραυμάτων
3 νεαρῶν παραμενόντων· ἡ δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος δύναμις, ὥς φησι Θεόπομπος, ἐκριπίζουσα τὸν θυμὸν αὐτῶν καὶ διακαίουσα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐπεσκότησε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, ὥστε καὶ φόβον καὶ λογισμὸν καὶ χάριν ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐνθουσιῶντας ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου πρὸς τὸ καλόν. οὕτω δὲ μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐφάνη τὸ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἔργον, ὥστε τὸν μὲν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι δεόμενον εἰρήνης, ὀρθὴν δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γενέσθαι καὶ συνεξαναστῆναι
4 πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, ὑπηρετεῖν δὲ μὴ μόνον τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῷ Δημοσθένει ποιοῦντας τὸ προσταττόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς βοιωτάρχας, διοικεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰς

and thereby forcing Philip to demand peace, while he secures to himself general confidence both at Athens and at Thebes.

ἐκκλησίας ἁπάσας οὐδὲν ἧττον ὑπ' ἐκείνου τότε τὰς Θηβαίων ἢ τὰς Ἀθηναίων, ἀγαπωμένου παρ' ἀμφοτέροις καὶ δυναστεύοντος οὐκ ἀδίκως οὐδὲ παρ' ἀξίαν, καθάπερ ἀποφαίνεται Θεόπομπος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ προσηκόντως.

But Providence thwarted his enterprises. Disquieting oracles from Delphi. Discussion about the Thermodon in one of the Sibylline prophecies.

XIX Τύχη δέ τις ἔοικε δαιμόνιος ἐν περιφορᾷ πραγμάτων εἰς ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ συμπεραίνουσα τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις, καὶ πολλὰ σημεῖα τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀναφαίνειν, ἐν οἷς ἥ τε Πυθία δεινὰ προὔφερε μαντεύματα, καὶ χρησμὸς ᾔδετο παλαιὸς ἐκ τῶν Σιβυλλείων

τῆς ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι μάχης ἀπάνευθε γενοίμην,
αἰετὸς ἐν νεφέεσσι καὶ ἠέρι θηήσασθαι.
κλαίει ὁ νικηθείς, ὁ δὲ νικήσας ἀπόλωλε.

Τὸν δὲ Θερμώδοντά φασιν εἶναι παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν 2
Χαιρωνείᾳ ποταμὸν μικρὸν εἰς τὸν Κηφισὸν ἐμβάλ-
λοντα. ἡμεῖς δὲ νῦν μὲν οὐδὲν οὕτω τῶν ῥευμάτων
ἴσμεν ὀνομαζόμενον, εἰκάζομεν δὲ τὸν καλούμενον
Αἵμονα Θερμώδοντα λέγεσθαι τότε· καὶ γὰρ πα-
ραρρεῖ παρὰ τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ὅπου κατεστρατοπέδευον
οἱ Ἕλληνες· καὶ τεκμαιρόμεθα τῆς μάχης γενομένης
αἵματος ἐμπλησθέντα καὶ νεκρῶν τὸν ποταμὸν
ταύτην διαλλάξαι τὴν προσηγορίαν. ὁ δὲ Δοῦρις οὐ 3
ποταμὸν εἶναι τὸν Θερμώδοντά φησιν, ἀλλ' ἱστάντας
τινὰς σκηνὴν καὶ περιορύττοντας ἀνδριαντίσκον εὑ-
ρεῖν λίθινον, ὑπὸ γραμμάτων τινῶν διασημαινόμενον
ὡς εἴη Θερμώδων, ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις Ἀμαζόνα φέροντα
τετρωμένην. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ χρησμὸν ἄλλον ᾄδεσθαι
λέγοντα

τὴν δ' ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι μάχην μένε, παμμέλαν ὄρνι·
τηνεί τοι κρέα πολλὰ παρέσσεται ἀνθρώπεια.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὅπως ἔχει, διαιτῆσαι χαλεπόν·

XX ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης λέγεται, τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅπλοις ἐκτεθαρρηκὼς καὶ λαμπρὸς ὑπὸ ῥώμης καὶ προθυμίας ἀνδρῶν τοσούτων προκαλουμένων τοὺς πολεμίους αἰρόμενος, οὔτε χρησμοῖς ἐᾶν προσέχειν οὔτε μαντείας ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Πυθίαν ὑπονοεῖν ὡς φιλιππίζουσαν, ἀναμιμνήσκων Ἐπαμεινώνδου τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ Περικλέους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα δειλίας 855
ἡγούμενοι προφάσεις ἐχρῶντο τοῖς λογισμοῖς.

Demosthenes was too confident of success to allow the united Greeks to listen to such forebodings.

2 Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀνὴρ ἦν ἀγαθός· ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ καλὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ὁμολογούμενον ἔργον οἷς εἶπεν ἀποδειξάμενος ᾤχετο λιπὼν τὴν τάξιν, ἀποδρὰς αἴσχιστα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ῥίψας, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῆς ἀσπίδος, ὡς ἔλεγε Πυθέας, αἰσχυνθείς, ἐπιγεγραμμένην χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν ΑΓΑΘΗΙ ΤΥΧΗΙ.

But in the field of battle at Chaeronea his spirit fails and he throws away his shield and flees.

3 Παραυτίκα μὲν οὖν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ διὰ τὴν χαρὰν ἐξυβρίσας καὶ κωμάσας ἐπὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς μεθύων ᾖδε τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Δημοσθένους ψηφίσματος πρὸς πόδα διαιρῶν καὶ ὑποκρούων

Philip's conduct after the victory.

Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς τάδ' εἶπεν·

ἐκνήψας δὲ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ περιστάντος αὐτὸν ἀγῶνος ἐν νῷ λαβὼν ἔφριττε τὴν δεινότητα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ῥήτορος, ἐν μέρει μικρῷ μιᾶς ἡμέρας τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀναρρῖψαι κίνδυνον ἀναγκασθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

Διίκετο δ' ἡ δόξα μέχρι τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως· 4
κἀκεῖνος ἔπεμψε τοῖς σατράπαις ἐπὶ θάλασσαν γράμματα, χρήματα Δημοσθένει διδόναι κελεύων καὶ προσέχειν ἐκείνῳ μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς περισπάσαι δυναμένῳ καὶ κατασχεῖν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς ταραχαῖς τὸν Μακεδόνα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐφώρα- 5
σεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἐπιστολάς τινας ἀνευρὼν τοῦ Δημοσθένους καὶ γράμματα τῶν βασιλέως στρατηγῶν, δηλοῦντα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν δοθέντων αὐτῷ χρημάτων.

The King of Persia bestows marks of favour and confidence on Demosthenes.

XXI Τότε δὲ τῆς ἀτυχίας τοῖς Ἕλλησι γεγενημένης οἱ μὲν ἀντιπολιτευόμενοι ῥήτορες ἐπεμβαίνοντες τῷ Δημοσθένει κατεσκεύαζον εὐθύνας καὶ γραφὰς ἐπ' αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ δῆμος οὐ μόνον τούτων ἀπέλυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν διετέλει καὶ προκαλούμενος αὖθις, ὡς εὔνουν,
εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν; ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὀστῶν ἐκ Χαιρωνείας 2
κομισθέντων καὶ θαπτομένων τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔπαινον εἰπεῖν ἀπέδωκεν, οὐ ταπεινῶς οὐδ' ἀγεννῶς φέρων τὸ συμβεβηκός, ὡς γράφει καὶ τραγῳδεῖ Θεόπομπος, ἀλλὰ τῷ τιμᾶν μάλιστα καὶ κοσμεῖν τὸν σύμβουλον ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὸ μὴ μεταμέλεσθαι τοῖς συμβεβουλευμένοις.

Demosthenes is denounced by his political opponents, but supported by the people against their attacks; and appointed to deliver the funeral oration over those slain at Chaeronea.

Τὸν μὲν οὖν λόγον εἶπεν ὁ Δημοσθένης, τοῖς δὲ 3
ψηφίσμασιν οὐχ ἑαυτόν, ἀλλ' ἐν μέρει τῶν φίλων ἕκαστον ἐπέγραφεν, ἐξοιωνιζόμενος τὸν ἴδιον δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ἕως αὖθις ἀνεθάρρησε Φιλίππου τελευτήσαντος. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τῇ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν εὐτυχίᾳ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ἐπιβιώσας· καὶ τοῦτο

δοκεῖ τῷ τελευταίῳ τῶν ἐπῶν ὁ χρησμὸς ἀποθεσπίσαι

κλαίει ὁ νικηθείς, ὁ δὲ νικήσας ἀπόλωλεν.

He receives private intelligence of the death of Philip

XXII Ἔγνω μὲν οὖν κρύφα τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου τελευτὴν ὁ Δημοσθένης, προκαταλαμβάνων δὲ τὸ θαρρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ μέλλοντα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, προῆλθε φαιδρὸς εἰς τὴν βουλήν, ὡς ὄναρ ἑωρακώς, ἀφ' οὗ τι μέγα προσδοκᾶν Ἀθηναίοις ἀγαθόν· καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ παρῆσαν οἱ τὸν Φιλίππου θάνατον ἀπαγγέλλοντες. εὐθὺς οὖν ἔθυον εὐαγγέλια καὶ στεφανοῦν
2 ἐψηφίσαντο Παυσανίαν. καὶ προῆλθεν ὁ Δημοσθένης ἔχων λαμπρὸν ἱμάτιον ἐστεφανωμένος, ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ τεθνηκυίας, ὡς Αἰσχίνης φησὶ λοιδορῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ κατηγορῶν αὐτοῦ μισοτεκνίαν, αὐτὸς ὢν ἀγεννὴς καὶ μαλακός, εἰ τὰ πένθη καὶ τοὺς ὀδυρμοὺς ἡμέρου καὶ φιλοστόργου ψυχῆς ἐποιεῖτο σημεῖα, τὸ δὲ ἀλύπως φέρειν ταῦτα καὶ πρᾴως ἀπεδοκίμαζεν.

and doffs the mourning apparel, which he had just assumed for the death of his only daughter, to take part in the public rejoicings at that event.

3 Ἐγὼ δ', ὡς μὲν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ βασιλέως ἡμέρως οὕτω καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἐν οἷς ηὐτύχησε χρησαμένου πταίσασιν αὐτοῖς στεφανηφορεῖν καλῶς εἶχε καὶ θύειν, οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ νεμεσητῷ καὶ ἀγεννὲς ζῶντα μὲν τιμᾶν καὶ ποιεῖσθαι πολίτην, πεσόντος δ' ὑφ' ἑτέρου 856
μὴ φέρειν τὴν χαρὰν μετρίως, ἀλλ' ἐπισκιρτᾶν τῷ νεκρῷ καὶ παιωνίζειν, ὥσπερ αὐτοὺς ἀνδραγαθή-
4 σαντας· ὅτι μέντοι τὰς οἴκοι τύχας καὶ δάκρυα καὶ ὀδυρμοὺς ἀπολιπὼν ταῖς γυναιξὶν ὁ Δημοσθένης, ἃ τῇ πόλει συμφέρειν ᾤετο, ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν, ἐπαινῶ

Comment on his conduct. Private sorrow might well give way to national joy, if legitimate, but the nation had no right to rejoice at what was not a triumph of their own.

καὶ τίθεμαι πολιτικῆς καὶ ἀνδρώδους ψυχῆς, ἀεὶ πρὸς
τὸ κοινὸν ἱστάμενον καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα πράγματα καὶ
πάθη τοῖς δημοσίοις ἐπανέχοντα, τηρεῖν τὸ ἀξίωμα
πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ
τυραννικῶν προσώπων, οὓς ὁρῶμεν οὔτε κλαίοντας
οὔτε γελῶντας ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, ὡς αὐτοὶ θέλουσιν,
ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ ἀγὼν ἀπαιτεῖ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν.

Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, εἰ δεῖ τὸν ἀτυχήσαντα μὴ περιο- 5
ρᾶν ἀπαρηγόρητον ἐν τῷ πάθει κείμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
λόγοις χρῆσθαι κουφίζουσι καὶ πρὸς ἡδίω πράγματα
τρέπειν τὴν διάνοιαν, ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς ὀφθαλμιῶντας
ἀπὸ τῶν λαμπρῶν καὶ ἀντιτύπων ἐπὶ τὰ χλωρὰ καὶ
μαλακὰ χρώματα τὴν ὄψιν ἀπάγειν κελεύοντες, πόθεν
ἄν τις ἐπαγάγοιτο βελτίω παρηγορίαν ἢ πατρίδος
εὐτυχούσης ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν παθῶν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα σύγ-
κρασιν πορίζόμενος τοῖς βελτίοσιν ἀφανίζουσαν τὰ
χείρω; Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰπεῖν προήχθημεν ὁρῶντες
ἐπικλῶντα πολλοὺς καὶ ἀποθηλύνοντα τὸν Αἰσχίνην
τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ πρὸς οἶκτον.

XXIII Αἱ δὲ πόλεις, πάλιν τοῦ Δημοσθένους
ἀναρριπίζοντος αὐτάς, συνίσταντο.

Demosthenes incites the Greeks to form a new league against Macedonia, but Alexander's vigorous action causes its speedy collapse.

καὶ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἐπέθεντο τῇ φρουρᾷ
καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνεῖλον, ὅπλα τοῦ Δημο-
σθένους αὐτοῖς συμπαρασκευάσαντος,
Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ὡς πολεμήσοντες μετ'
αὐτῶν παρεσκευάζοντο. καὶ τὸ βῆμα κατεῖχεν ὁ 2
Δημοσθένης, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ στρατηγοὺς τοῦ
βασιλέως ἔγραφε τὸν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπεγείρων πόλεμον
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, παῖδα καὶ Μαργίτην ἀποκαλῶν αὐτόν.
ἐπεὶ μέντοι, τὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν θέμενος, παρῆν αὐτὸς
μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐξεκέκοπτο μὲν

Fall of Thebes.

ἡ θρασύτης τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης ἀπεσβήκει, Θηβαῖοι δὲ προδοθέντες ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων ἠγωνίσαντο καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀπέβαλον.

Demosthenes goes with the other legates on a mission to Alexander as far as the frontier of Boeotia and then returns.

3 Θορύβου δὲ μεγάλου τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περιεστῶτος, ἀπεστάλη μὲν ὁ Δημοσθένης αἱρεθεὶς μεθ᾽ ἑτέρων πρεσβευτὴς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, δείσας δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ἀνεχώρησεν ὀπίσω καὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἀφῆκεν. εὐθὺς δ᾽ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξῄτει πέμπων τῶν δημαγωγῶν δέκα μέν, ὡς Ἰδομενεὺς καὶ Δοῦρις εἰρήκασιν, ὀκτὼ δ᾽, ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν συγγραφέων, τούσδε· Δημοσθένην, Πολύευκτον, Ἐφιάλτην, Λυκοῦργον, Μοιροκλέα, Δήμωνα, Καλλισθένην, Χαρίδημον.

Extradition of the chief anti-Macedonian politicians at Athens demanded by Alexander.

4 ὅτε καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν προβάτων λόγον ὁ Δημοσθένης προσῆψε τῷ δήμῳ, ἃ τοῖς λύκοις τοὺς κύνας ἐξέδωκε, καὶ διηγούμενος αὑτὸν μὲν εἴκασε καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὑτῷ κυσὶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου μαχομένοις, τὸν δ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον Μακεδόνα μονόλυκον προσηγόρευσεν. ἔτι δ᾽ ‘ὥσπερ’ ἔφη ‘τοὺς ἐμπόρους ὁρῶμεν, ὅταν ἐν τρυβλίῳ δεῖγμα περιφέρωσι, δι᾽ ὀλίγων πυρῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς πιπράσκοντας, οὕτως ἐν ἡμῖν λανθάνετε

Fable of the wolves, dogs, and sheep applied to the occasion by Demosthenes.

5 πάντας αὑτοὺς συνεκδιδόντες.’ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἀριστόβουλος ὁ Κασσανδρεὺς ἱστόρηκε. βουλευομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ διαπορούντων ὁ Δημάδης λαβὼν πέντε τάλαντα παρὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὡμολόγησε πρεσβεύσειν καὶ δεήσεσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἴτε τῇ φιλίᾳ πιστεύων, εἴτε προσδοκῶν μεστὸν

Mission of Demades to Alexander to deprecate his displeasure.

εὑρήσειν ὥσπερ λέοντα φόνου κεκορεσμένον. ἔπεισε δ' οὖν καὶ παρῃτήσατο τοὺς ἄνδρας ὁ Δημάδης καὶ διήλλαξεν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν.

857 XXIV Ἀπελθόντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγάλοι μὲν ἦσαν οὗτοι, ταπεινὰ δ' ἔπραττεν ὁ Δημοσθένης. κινουμένῳ δ' Ἄγιδι τῷ Σπαρτιάτῃ βραχέα συνεκινήθη πάλιν, εἶτ' ἔπτηξε, τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων οὐ συνεξαναστάντων, τοῦ δ' Ἄγιδος πεσόντος καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συντριβέντων.

Demades and his party now take the lead at Athens. Anti-Macedonian movement from Sparta. Complete defeat of king Agis, its leader.

Εἰσήχθη δὲ τότε καὶ ἡ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου γραφὴ κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος, γραφεῖσα μὲν ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος μικρὸν ἐπάνω τῶν Χαιρωνικῶν, κριθεῖσα δ' 2 ὕστερον ἔτεσι δέκα ἐπ' Ἀριστοφῶντος, γενομένη δὲ ὡς οὐδεμία τῶν δημοσίων περιβόητος διά τε τὴν δόξαν τῶν λεγόντων καὶ τὴν τῶν δικαζόντων εὐγένειαν, οἳ τοῖς ἐλαύνουσι τὸν Δημοσθένην τότε πλεῖστον δυναμένοις καὶ μακεδονίζουσιν οὐ προήκαντο τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ ψῆφον, ἀλλ' οὕτω λαμπρῶς ἀπέλυσαν, ὥστε τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων Αἰσχίνην μὴ μεταλαβεῖν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ᾤχετ' ἀπιὼν καὶ περὶ Ῥόδον καὶ Ἰωνίαν σοφιστεύων κατεβίωσε.

Indictment of Ctesiphon by Aeschines, August 330 B.C. Brilliant triumph of Demosthenes and retirement of Aeschines to Rhodes.

XXV Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δ' Ἅρπαλος ἧκεν ἐξ Ἀσίας εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδρὰς Ἀλέξανδρον, αὑτῷ τε πράγματα συνειδὼς πονηρὰ δι' ἀσωτίαν, κἀκεῖνον, ἤδη χαλεπὸν ὄντα τοῖς φίλοις, δεδοικώς. καταφυγόντος δὲ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῶν νεῶν αὑτὸν παραδιδόντος, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ῥήτορες εὐθὺς ἐποφθαλμιά-

The affair of Harpalus B.C. 324.

σαντες πρὸς τὸν πλοῦτον ἐβοήθουν καὶ συνέπειθον
2 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους δέχεσθαι καὶ σῴζειν τὸν ἱκέτην. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπελαύνειν συνεβούλευε τὸν Ἅρπαλον, καὶ φυλάττεσθαι, μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἐμβάλωσιν εἰς πόλεμον ἐξ οὐκ ἀναγκαίας καὶ ἀδίκου προφάσεως· ἡμέραις δ' ὀλίγαις ὕστερον, ἐξεταζομένων τῶν χρημάτων, ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἅρπαλος ἡσθέντα βαρβαρικῇ κύλικι καὶ καταμανθάνοντα τὴν τορείαν καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἐκέλευσε διαβαστάσαντα τὴν ὁλκὴν τοῦ
3 χρυσίου σκέψασθαι. θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους τὸ βάρος καὶ πυθομένου, πόσον ἄγει, μειδιάσας ὁ Ἅρπαλος "Ἄξει σοι" φησίν "εἴκοσι τάλαντα"· καὶ γενομένης τάχιστα τῆς νυκτὸς ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ τὴν κύλικα μετὰ τῶν εἴκοσι ταλάντων. ἦν δ' ἄρα δεινὸς ὁ Ἅρπαλος ἐρωτικοῦ πρὸς χρυσίον ἀνδρὸς ὄψει καὶ διαχύσει καὶ βολαῖς
4 ὀμμάτων ἀνευρεῖν ἦθος. οὐ γὰρ ἀντέσχεν ὁ Δημοσθένης, ἀλλὰ πληγεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς δωροδοκίας ὥσπερ παραδεδεγμένος φρουρὰν προσκεχωρήκει τῷ Ἁρπάλῳ. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν εὖ καὶ καλῶς ἐρίοις καὶ ταινίαις κατὰ τοῦ τραχήλου καθελιξάμενος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προῆλθε· καὶ κελευόντων ἀνίστασθαι καὶ λέγειν διένευεν, ὡς ἀποκεκομμένης αὐτῷ τῆς φωνῆς.
5 οἱ δ' εὐφυεῖς χλευάζοντες οὐχ ὑπὸ συνάγχης ἔφραζον, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀργυράγχης εἰλῆφθαι νύκτωρ τὸν δημαγωγόν. ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ δήμου παντὸς αἰσθομένου τὴν δωροδοκίαν καὶ βουλόμενον ἀπολογεῖσθαι καὶ πείθειν οὐκ ἐῶντος, ἀλλὰ χαλεπαίνοντος καὶ θορυβοῦντος, ανα-

Demosthenes, at
4 first, dissuaded the Athenians from taking him up, but presently, fascinated by the beauty of a golden cup among the treasures of Harpalus, he affected to have lost his voice, when the debate came on in the Assembly concerning his surrender,

5 thereby provoking the sarcastic taunts of the wits and indignant murmurings of the people.

στάς τις ἔσκωψεν εἰπών ‘Οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦ τὴν κύλικα ἔχοντος;’

Τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπέπεμψαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὸν 6 Ἅρπαλον, δεδιότες δὲ μὴ λόγον ἀπαιτῶνται χρημάτων ὧν διηρπάκεισαν οἱ ῥήτορες ζήτησιν ἐποιοῦντο νεανικὴν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐπιόντες ἠρεύνων, πλὴν τῆς Καλλικλέους τοῦ Ἀρρενίδου μόνης· τὴν δὲ τούτου νεωστὶ γεγαμηκότος οὐκ εἴασαν ἐλεγχθῆναι, νύμφης ἔνδον οὔσης, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος.

Suspicions about the missing portion of the treasure of Harpalus; investigation of the facts; houses of the leading orators searched.

XXVI. Ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ὁμόσε χωρῶν εἰσήνεγκε ψήφισμα τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν ἐξετάσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῃ δόξαντας ἀδικεῖν δοῦναι δίκην. ἐν δὲ πρώτοις αὐτοῦ τῆς βουλῆς ἐκείνου καταψηφισαμένης, εἰσῆλθε μὲν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, ὀφλὼν δὲ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων 2 δίκην καὶ παραδοθεὶς εἰς τὸ δεσμω-
858 τήριον αἰσχύνῃ τῆς αἰτίας φησὶ καὶ δι᾽ ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώματος οὐ δυνάμενος φέρειν τὸν εἱργμὸν ἀποδρᾶναι τοὺς μὲν λαθών, τῶν δὲ λαθεῖν ἐξουσίαν δόντων.

Demosthenes moves for a preliminary investigation of the matter by the Areopagus. The report of the Areopagites unfavourable to Demosthenes. He is tried (after the lapse of six months), found guilty of corruption by the dicastery and sentenced to pay a fine of fifty talents and to be imprisoned till it is paid. He makes his escape from prison.

Λέγεται γοῦν, ὡς οὐ μακρὰν φεύγων τοῦ ἄστεος αἴσθοιτό τινας τῶν διαφόρων αὐτῷ πολιτῶν ἐπιδιώκοντας, βούλεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἀποκρύπτειν, ὡς δ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι 3 φθεγξάμενοι τοὔνομα καὶ προσελθόντες ἐγγὺς ἐδέοντο λαβεῖν ἐφόδιον παρ᾽ αὐτῶν, ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτο κομίζοντες ἀργύριον οἴκοθεν καὶ τούτου χάριν ἐπιδιώξαντες αὐτόν, ἅμα δὲ θαρρεῖν παρεκάλουν καὶ μὴ

His very enemies offer him solace on his flight from Athens.

φέρειν ἀνιαρῶς τὸ συμβεβηκός, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀνακλαύσασθαι τὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ εἰπεῖν ‘Πῶς δ’ οὐ μέλλω φέρειν βαρέως ἀπολείπων πόλιν ἐχθροὺς τοιούτους ἔχουσαν, οἵους ἐν ἑτέρᾳ φίλους εὑρεῖν οὐ ῥᾴδιόν ἐστιν;’

He passes some months of dejection in exile at Aegina and Troezen. His advice to young men to eschew politics.

4 Ἤνεγκε δὲ τὴν φυγὴν μαλακῶς, ἐν Αἰγίνῃ καὶ Τροιζῆνι καθήμενος τὰ πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀποβλέπων δεδακρυμενος, ὥστε φωνὰς οὐκ εὐγνώμονας οὐδ’ ὁμολογουμένας τοῖς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ νεανιεύμασιν ἀπομνημονεύεσθαι. λέγεται γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος ἀπαλλαττόμενος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰπεῖν ‘Ὦ δέσποινα Πολιάς, τί δὴ τρισὶ τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις χαίρεις θηρίοις, 5 γλαυκὶ καὶ δράκοντι καὶ δήμῳ;’ καὶ τοὺς προσιόντας αὐτῷ καὶ συνδιατρίβοντας νεανίσκους ἀποτρέπειν τῆς πολιτείας λέγων ὡς, εἰ, δυεῖν αὐτῷ προκειμένων ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ὁδῶν, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς δ’ ἄντικρυς εἰς τὸν ὄλεθρον, ἐτύγχανε προειδὼς τὰ κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν κακά, φόβους καὶ φθόνους καὶ διαβολὰς καὶ ἀγωνίας, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἂν ὁρμῆσαι τὴν εὐθὺ τοῦ θανάτου τείνουσαν.

Death of Alexander (May B.C. 323), followed by an anti-Macedonian confederacy in Greece. Antipater compelled to throw himself into Lamia, where he is besieged by Leosthenes, who turns the siege into a blockade.

XXVII Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔτι φεύγοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰρημένην φυγὴν Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἐτελεύτησε, τὰ δ’ Ἑλληνικὰ συνίσταντο πάλιν, Λεωσθένους ἀνδραγαθοῦντος καὶ περιτειχίζοντος Ἀντίπατρον ἐν Λαμίᾳ πολιορκούμενον. 2 Πυθέας μὲν οὖν ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ Καλλιμέδων ὁ Κάραβος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν φεύγοντες Ἀντιπάτρῳ προσεγένοντο καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων καὶ πρέσβεων περιϊόντες

οὐκ εἴων ἀφίστασθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας οὐδὲ προσέχειν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· Δημοσθένης δὲ τοῖς ἐξ ἄστεος πρεσβεύουσι προσμείξας ἑαυτὸν ἠγωνίζετο καὶ συνέπραττεν, ὅπως αἱ πόλεις συνεπιθήσονται τοῖς Μακεδόσι καὶ συνεκβαλοῦσιν αὐτοὺς τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἐν δ' Ἀρκαδίᾳ καὶ 3
λοιδορίαν τοῦ Πυθέου καὶ τοῦ Δημοσθένους γενέσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἴρηκεν ὁ Φύλαρχος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, τοῦ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν Μακεδόνων, τοῦ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λέγοντος. λέγεται δὲ τὸν μὲν Πυθέαν εἰπεῖν ὅτι, καθάπερ οἰκίαν, εἰς ἣν ὄνειον εἰσφέρεται γάλα, κακόν τι πάντως ἔχειν νομίζομεν, οὕτω καὶ πόλιν ἀνάγκη νοσεῖν, εἰς ἣν Ἀθηναίων πρεσβεία παραγίνεται· τὸν δὲ Δημοσθένην στρέψαι τὸ παράδειγμα 4
φήσαντα, καὶ τὸ γάλα τὸ ὄνειον ἐφ' ὑγιείᾳ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ παραγίνεσθαι τῶν νοσούντων. Ἐφ' οἷς ἡσθεὶς ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος ψηφίζεται τῷ Δημοσθένει κάθοδον. τὸ μὲν οὖν ψήφισμα Δήμων ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἀνεψιὸς ὢν Δημοσθένους εἰσήνεγκεν· ἐπέμφθη δὲ τριήρης ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰς Αἴγιναν. ἐκ δὲ Πειραιῶς ἀνέβαινεν οὔτε ἄρχοντος 5
οὔτε ἱερέως ἀπολειφθέντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ὁμοῦ πάντων ἀπαντώντων καὶ δεχομένων προθύμως. ὅτε καί φησιν αὐτὸν ὁ Μάγνης Δημήτριος ἀνατείναντα τὰς χεῖρας μακαρίσαι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἑαυτόν, ὡς βέλτιον Ἀλκιβιάδου κατιόντα· πεπεισμένους γάρ, οὐ βεβιασμένους, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δέχεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας. τῆς δὲ χρηματικῆς ζημίας 6

Pytheas and others try to check the anti-Macedonian movement. Demosthenes, though in exile, co-operates actively with the Athenian envoys to the Peloponnesian towns.

Story told by Phylarchus of a rencounter between Demosthenes and Pytheas at a public assembly in Arcadia.

Psephism carried for the recal of Demosthenes to Athens. Great enthusiasm on his arrival.

αὐτῷ μενούσης (οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν χάριτι λῦσαι καταδίκην) 859

Liquidation of his fine by a pious fraud.

ἐσοφίσαντο πρὸς τὸν νόμον. εἰωθότες γὰρ ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀργύριον τελεῖν τοῖς κατασκευάζουσι καὶ κοσμοῦσι τὸν βωμόν, ἐκείνῳ τότε ταῦτα ποιῆσαι καὶ παρασχεῖν πεντήκοντα ταλάντων ἐξέδωκαν, ὅσον ἦν τὸ τίμημα τῆς καταδίκης.

XXVIII Οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπέλαυσε τῆς

His triumph was of brief duration. On the victory of Antipater at Cranon (in Thessaly, August 6 B.C. 322) and the entry of the Macedonian garrison into Munychia, he and the other distinguished anti-Macedonian orators fled from Athens. They are condemned to death in their absence, on the motion of Demades.

πατρίδος κατελθών, ἀλλὰ ταχὺ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων συντριβέντων Μεταγειτνιῶνος μὲν μηνὸς ἡ περὶ Κρανῶνα μάχη συνέπεσε, Βοηδρομιῶνος δὲ παρῆλθεν εἰς Μουνυχίαν ἡ φρουρά, Πυανεψιῶνος δὲ Δημοσθένης ἀπέθανε τόνδε τὸν τρόπον.

2 ὡς Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Κρατερὸς ἠγγέλλοντο προσιόντες ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην φθάσαντες ὑπεξῆλθον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ὁ δὲ δῆμος αὐτῶν θάνατον κατέγνω Δημάδου γράψαντος.

Antipater sends Archias the exile-hunter and others to track and arrest the proscribed exiles.

Ἄλλων δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ διασπαρέντων, ὁ Ἀντίπατρος περιέπεμπε τοὺς συλλαμβάνοντας, ὧν ἡγεμὼν ἦν Ἀρχίας ὁ κληθεὶς φυγαδοθήρας.

3 τοῦτον δὲ Θούριον ὄντα τῷ γένει λόγος ἔχει τραγῳδίας ὑποκρίνεσθαί ποτε, καὶ τὸν Αἰγινήτην Πῶλον, τὸν ὑπερβαλόντα τῇ τέχνῃ πάντας, ἐκείνου γεγονέναι μαθητὴν ἱστοροῦσιν. Ἕρμιππος δὲ τὸν Ἀρχίαν ἐν τοῖς Λακρίτου τοῦ ῥήτορος μαθηταῖς ἀναγράφει· Δημήτριος δὲ τῆς Ἀναξιμένους διατριβῆς μετεσχηκέναι φησὶν αὐτόν.

4 οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἀρχίας Ὑπερείδην μὲν τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ

Hyperides, Aristo-

Ἀριστόνικον τὸν Μαραθώνιον καὶ τὸν Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως ἀδελφὸν Ἱμεραῖον ἐν Αἰγίνῃ καταφυγόντας ἐπὶ τὸ Αἰάκειον ἀποσπάσας ἔπεμψεν εἰς Κλεωνὰς πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον· κἀκεῖ διεφθάρησαν, Ὑπερείδου δὲ καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν ἐκτμηθῆναι λέγουσι.

nicus and Himeraeus are dragged out of the sanctuary of the chapel of Aeacus in Aegina and sent as prisoners to Antipater, who had them put to death.

XXIX Τὸν δὲ Δημοσθένην πυθόμενος ἱκέτην ἐν 1
Καλαυρίᾳ ἐν τῷ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερῷ
καθέζεσθαι, διαπλεύσας ὑπηρετικοῖς
καὶ ἀποβὰς μετὰ Θρᾳκῶν δορυφόρων
ἔπειθεν ἀναστάντα βαδίζειν μετ' αὐ-
τοῦ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον, ὡς δυσχερὲς
πεισόμενον οὐδέν. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ἐτύγχανεν ὄψιν 2
ἑωρακὼς κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀλλό-
κοτον. ἐδόκει γὰρ ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι τῷ Ἀρχίᾳ τρα-
γῳδίαν ὑποκρινόμενος, εὐημερῶν δὲ καὶ κατέχων τὸ
θέατρον ἐνδείᾳ παρασκευῆς καὶ χορηγίας κρατεῖσθαι.
διὸ τοῦ Ἀρχίου πολλὰ φιλάνθρωπα διαλεχθέντος
ἀναβλέψας πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥσπερ ἐτύγχανε καθήμενος,
'Ὦ Ἀρχία' εἶπεν 'οὔτε ὑποκρινόμενός με πώποτ'
ἔπεισας οὔτε νῦν πείσεις ἐπαγγελλόμενος.' ἀρξα- 3
μένου δ' ἀπειλεῖν μετ' ὀργῆς τοῦ Ἀρχίου 'Νῦν' ἔφη
'λέγεις τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ τρίποδος, ἄρτι δ'
ὑπεκρίνου. μικρὸν οὖν ἐπίσχες, ὅπως ἐπιστείλω τι
τοῖς οἴκοι.' καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐντὸς ἀνεχώρησε τοῦ
ναοῦ· καὶ λαβὼν βιβλίον, ὡς γράφειν μέλλων,
προσήνεγκε τῷ στόματι τὸν κάλαμον, καὶ δακών,
ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ γράφειν εἰώθει, χρόνον
τινὰ κατέσχεν, εἶτα συγκαλυψάμενος ἀπέκλινε τὴν
κεφαλήν. οἱ μὲν οὖν παρὰ τὰς θύρας ἑστῶτες δορυ- 4

Demosthenes takes refuge in the temple of Poseidon in the island of Calauria. He poisons himself rather than fall into the hands of Archias.

φόροι κατεγέλων ὡς ἀποδειλιῶντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ μαλα-
κὸν ἀπεκάλουν καὶ ἄνανδρον, ὁ δ' Ἀρχίας προσελθὼν
ἀνίστασθαι παρεκάλει, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνακυκλῶν
λόγους αὖθις ἐπηγγέλλετο διαλλαγὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἀν-
τίπατρον. ἤδη δὲ συνῃσθημένος ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐμ-
πεφυκότος αὐτῷ τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ κρατοῦντος ἐξεκα-
5 λύψατο· καὶ διαβλέψας πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίαν 'Οὐκ
ἂν φθάνοις' εἶπεν 'ἤδη τὸν ἐκ τῆς τραγῳδίας ὑποκρι-
νόμενος Κρέοντα καὶ τὸ σῶμα τουτὶ ῥίπτων ἄταφον·
ἐγὼ δ', ὦ φίλε Πόσειδον, ἔτι ζῶν ἐξίσταμαι τοῦ ἱεροῦ·
τῷ δ' Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν οὐδ' ὁ σὸς νεὼς
καθαρὸς ἀπολέλειπται.' Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ κελεύ-
σας ὑπολαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἤδη τρέμοντα καὶ σφαλλόμενον
ἅμα τῷ προελθεῖν καὶ παραλλάξαι τὸν βωμὸν ἔπεσε
1 καὶ στενάξας ἀφῆκε τὴν ψυχήν. XXX Τὸ 860
δὲ φάρμακον Ἀρίστων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ
καλάμου φησὶ λαβεῖν αὐτόν, ὡς εἴρη-
ται· Πάππος δέ τις, οὗ τὴν ἱστορίαν
Ἕρμιππος ἀνείληφε, φησί, πεσόντος
αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν βωμόν, ἐν μὲν τῷ
βιβλίῳ γεγραμμένην ἐπιστολῆς ἀρχὴν εὑρεθῆναι
2 'Δημοσθένης Ἀντιπάτρῳ,' καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο· θαυ-
μαζομένης δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸν θάνατον ὀξύτητος διηγή-
σασθαι τοὺς παρὰ ταῖς θύραις Θρᾷκας, ὡς ἔκ τινος
ῥακίου λαβὼν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα προσθοῖτο τῷ στόματι
καὶ καταπίοι τὸ φάρμακον· αὐτοὶ δ' ἄρα χρυσίον
ᾠήθησαν εἶναι τὸ καταπινόμενον· ἡ δ' ὑπηρετοῦσα
παιδίσκη, πυνθανομένων τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν, φαίη
πολὺν εἶναι χρόνον, ἐξ οὗ φοροίη τὸν ἀπόδεσμον
3 ἐκεῖνον ὁ Δημοσθένης ὡς φυλακτήριον. Ἐρατοσθένης
δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν κρίκῳ φησὶ κοίλῳ τὸ φάρμακον

Different traditions of the way in which he poisoned himself. His death happened on Oct. 12, the fast day of the Thesmophoria at Athens.

φυλάσσειν· τὸν δὲ κρίκον εἶναι τοῦτον αὐτῷ φόρημα
περιβραχιόνιον. τῶν δ' ἄλλων, ὅσοι γεγράφασι
περὶ αὐτοῦ, πάμπολλοι δ' εἰσὶ, τὰς διαφορὰς οὐκ
ἀναγκαῖον ἐπεξελθεῖν· πλὴν ὅτι Δημοχάρης ὁ τοῦ 4
Δημοσθένους οἰκεῖος οἴεσθαί φησιν αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑπὸ
φαρμάκου, θεῶν δὲ τιμῇ καὶ προνοίᾳ τῆς Μακεδόνων
ὠμότητος ἐξαρπαγῆναι συντόμως καταστρέψαντα
καὶ ἀλύπως. κατέστρεψε δὲ ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ
Πυανεψιῶνος μηνός, ἐν ᾗ τὴν σκυθρωποτάτην τῶν
Θεσμοφορίων ἡμέραν ἄγουσαι παρὰ τῇ θεῷ νηστεύ-
ουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες.

Honours paid by the Athenians to his memory and to his family.

Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ὀλίγον ὕστερον ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων 5
δῆμος ἀξίαν ἀποδιδοὺς τιμὴν εἰκόνα τε
χαλκῆν ἀνέστησε καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτα-
τον ἐψηφίσατο τῶν ἀπὸ γένους ἐν
Πρυτανείῳ σίτησιν ἔχειν. καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ θρυ-
λούμενον ἐπεγράφη τῇ βάσει τοῦ ἀνδριάντος

ΕΙΠΕΡΙϹΗΝΓΝΩΜΗΙΡΩΜΗΝΔΗΜΟϹΘΕΝΕϹΕΙΧΕϹ
ΟΥΠΟΤΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΩΝΗΡΞΕΝΑΡΗϹΜΑΚΕΔΩΝ·

οἱ γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸν Δημοσθένην τοῦτο ποιῆσαι λέγοντες
ἐν Καλαυρίᾳ μέλλοντα τὸ φάρμακον προσφέρεσθαι
κομιδῇ φλυαροῦσι.

Story of a private soldier, who shortly before Plutarch's visit to Athens placed his little all in the hands of the statue of Demosthenes, and the inference drawn by the wits of the time from it.

XXXI Μικρὸν δὲ πρόσθεν ἢ παραβαλεῖν ἡμᾶς 1
Ἀθήναζε λέγεταί τι τοιόνδε συμ-
βῆναι. στρατιώτης, ἐπὶ κρίσιν τινὰ
καλούμενος ὑφ' ἡγεμόνος, ὅσον εἶχε
χρυσίδιον εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἐνέθηκε τοῦ
ἀνδριάντος. ἕστηκε δὲ τοὺς δακτύλους
συνέχων δι' ἀλλήλων, καὶ παραπέ-
φυκεν οὐ μεγάλη πλάτανος. ἀπὸ ταύτης πολλὰ 2
τῶν φύλλων, εἴτε πνεύματος ἐκ τύχης καταβαλόντος,

εἴτ' αὐτὸς οὕτως ὁ θεὶς ἐκάλυψε, περικείμενα καὶ συμπεσόντα λαθεῖν ἐποίησε τὸ χρυσίον οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον. ὡς δ' ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπανελθὼν ἀνεῦρε καὶ διεδόθη λόγος ὑπὲρ τούτου, πολλοὶ τῶν εὐφυῶν ὑπόθεσιν λαβόντες εἰς τὸ ἀδωροδόκητον τοῦ Δημοσθένους διημιλλῶντο τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασι.

Death of Demades and moral to be drawn from his tragic end.

3 Δημάδην δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ἀπολαύσαντα τῆς φυομένης δόξης ἡ Δημοσθένους δίκη κατήγαγεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, οὓς ἐκολάκευσεν αἰσχρῶς, ὑπὸ τούτων ἐξολούμενον δικαίως, ἐπαχθῆ μὲν ὄντα καὶ πρότερον αὐτοῖς τότε δ' εἰς αἰτίαν ἄφυκτον ἐμπεσόντα. γράμματα γὰρ ἐξέπεσεν αὐτοῦ, δι' ὧν παρεκάλει Περδίκκαν ἐπιχειρεῖν Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ σῴζειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς ἀπὸ σαπροῦ καὶ παλαιοῦ στήμονος (λέγων τὸν Ἀντίπατρον) ἠρτημένους. 4 ἐφ' οἷς Δεινάρχου τοῦ Κορινθίου κατηγορήσαντος παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Κάσσανδρος ἐγκατέσφαξεν αὐτοῦ τῷ κόλπῳ τὸν υἱόν, εἶτα οὕτως ἐκεῖνον ἀνελεῖν προσέταξεν ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις διδασκόμενον ἀτυχήμασιν, ὅτι πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς οἱ προδόται πωλοῦσιν, ὃ πολλάκις Δημοσθένους προαγορεύσαντος οὐκ ἐπίστευσε.

Τὸν μὲν οὖν Δημοσθένους ἀπέχεις, ὦ Σόσσιε, βίον ἐξ ὧν ἡμεῖς ἀνέγνωμεν ἢ διηκούσαμεν.

EXPLICIT TEXTUS

NOTES ON

PLUTARCH'S

LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES

NOTES

CHAPTER I

The three first Chapters are introductory to the Pair of Lives DEMOSTHENES—CICERO PAGE OF TEXT

§ **1.** l. **3.** **τὸ...ἐγκώμιον**, 'the laudatory lines on Alcibiades written on occasion of his victory in the chariot race at Olympia.' I
Ὀλυμπίασι [ᾱ] 'at Olympia'—the plain in Elis where the famous games were held—to be distinguished from Ὀλυμπιάσι [ᾰ] the dative pl. of Ὀλυμπιάς, 'an Olympiad.' Similar locative cases, answering to the question 'where,' are Πλαταιᾶσι(ν), Θεσπιᾶσι(ν), Μουνυχίασι(ν), θύρασι(ν), Ἀθήνησι(ν), and those of the Attic demes Ἀγγελῆσι(ν), Ἁλῆσι(ν) (*Anton.* c. 70, 3), Ἀνακαίασι(ν), Ἀφίδνησι(ν), Ἀχαρνῆσι(ν) (Lucian *Icarom.* c. 18), Ἑκαλῆσι(ν), Θριᾶσι(ν) (Xen. *Hell.* v iv 21), Ἐρχίασι(ν) (Plato *Alc.* I c. 40), Αἰξωνῆσι(ν), Ἀλωπεκῆσι(ν), Κεφαλῆσι(ν) (Arist. *Av.* 476), Περγασῆσι (Ar. *Eq.* 321), Πρασιᾶσι(ν), Πτελέασι(ν), Φλυῆσι(ν) (*Them.* c. 1, 3; c. 15, 2), Φυλῆσι(ν). **εἰς**, 'on,' 'concerning,' as in c. 4, 3; c. 11, 5; c. 31, 3.

Plut. *Alc.* c. 11 says:—*αἱ δ' ἱπποτροφίαι περιβόητοι μὲν ἐγένοντο καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἁρμάτων· ἑπτὰ γὰρ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς καθῆκεν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἰδιώτης οὐδὲ βασιλεύς, μόνος δ' ἐκεῖνος. καὶ τὸ νικῆσαι δὲ καὶ δεύτερον γενέσθαι καὶ τέταρτον, ὡς Θουκυδίδης* (vi c. 16, 2) *φησίν, ὁ δ' Εὐριπίδης τρίτον, ὑπερβάλλει λαμπρότητι καὶ δόξῃ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν τούτοις φιλοτιμίαν. λέγει δ' ὁ Εὐριπίδης ἐν τῷ ᾄσματι* (*Epist.* III 1) *ταῦτα*

σὲ δ' ἀείσομαι, ὦ Κλεινίου παῖ,
καλὸν ἁ νίκα· κάλλιστον δ',
ὃ μηδεὶς ἄλλος Ἑλλάνων,
ἅρματι πρῶτα δραμεῖν
καὶ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτα·
βῆναί τ' ἀπονητὶ
δὶς στεφθέντ' ἐλαίᾳ
κάρυκι βοᾶν παραδοῦναι.

This triple victory was won either B.C. 420 or B.C. 416. See Isocrates *περὶ ζεύγους* § 32 ff. for the details and justification of his unprecedented magnificence. Alcibiades was born in B.C. 451 and assassinated at Melissa in Phrygia in B.C. 404 (*Alc.* c. 39, 1).

3. ὡς ὁ πολὺς κρατεῖ λόγος, 'according to the generally prevailing report.' Cp. c. 28, 3, *Thes.* c. 29, 3 τὸν 'ἄλλος οὗτος Ἡρακλῆς' λόγον ἐπ' ἐκείνου κρατῆσαι, Liv. XXI 46 *fama obtinet.*

4. ἕτερός τις, 'some different author.' It has been attributed to Simonides of Ceos, because of a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus XIV 6, 7 *Ut enim Simonides lyricus docet, beate perfecta ratione victuro ante alia patriam esse convenit gloriosam,* but this cannot be, since Simonides died B.C. 468 about 18 years before the birth of Alcibiades. **ὦ Σόσσιε:** Gaius Sosius Senecio, to whom, as his friend or patron, Plutarch has dedicated several of his *Parallel Lives* (viz. *Timoleon—Aemilius Paulus, Dion—Brutus, Theseus—Romulus*), and of his *Moral Treatises* (that *on Progress in Virtue* and the nine books of Συμποσιακὰ προβλήματα), was four times consul under the Emperors Nerva and Trajan—*suffectus* in A.D. 98 and *ordinarius* in A.D. 99, 102, 107. He was a friend of the younger Pliny also.

5. χρῆναι...ὑπάρξαι 'that his city should be, to begin with, as a primary essential, a famous one.' **6.** ΤᾺΝ ΠΌΛΙΝ ЄΫ́ΔΌΚΙΜΟΝ, the beginning probably of a hexameter or pentameter line.

7. τῷ μὲν εὐδαιμονήσειν μέλλοντι κτέ. 'the man who means to enjoy true happiness:' the μέν 'although' has its correlative in μέντοι, as c. 2, 1. For the cognate acc. see HA. § 715, G. § 159.

9. ἐν ἤθει καὶ διαθέσει...ἐστίν, 'depends on natural character and disposition.' ἦθος is the aggregate of qualities and habits which distinguish the individual; διάθεσις, his 'mood,' 'disposition' at a given moment. Cp. c. 7, 2; *Nic.* c. 1, 5.

10. οὐδὲν διαφέρειν...ἤ, 'that it is of no (greater) importance than.' **ἀδόξου** 'obscure.' Cp. Dem. *de cor.* § 68 ἐν Πέλλῃ, χωρίῳ ἀδόξῳ τότε γε ὄντι καὶ μικρῷ. **ταπεινῆς,** 'mean,' 'insignificant.' Cf. Isocr. *Paneg.* § 95 where ταῖς ταπειναῖς τῶν πόλεων are opp. to ταῖς προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀξιούσαις, *Areop.* § 7 ἐκ φαύλων καὶ ταπεινῶν πόλεων ὁρμηθέντες. **11. μητρὸς...γενέσθαι,** 'to be born of a mother.' For the predicate genitive of origin, see HA. § 732a. **μικρᾶς**)(μεγάλης 'tall.' Shortness of stature was regarded by the ancients as unbecoming and a disfigurement.

§ **2.** l. **11.** **γελοῖον** *sc.* ἂν εἴη.

12. Ἰουλίδα: Iulis, the birth-place of the two great lyric poets Simonides and his nephew Bacchylides—(*Ceae Camenae*, Hor. *Carm.* IV 9, 8)—rose to be the chief of the four towns of the island of Ceos (mod. *Zea*) in the Aegean sea, one of the Cyclades, lying about 13 miles SE of Cape Sunium. **13. οὐ** with μεγάλης.

14. ὡς λήμην τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀφελεῖν *sc.* τῆς ὄψεως (*Mor.* p. 1101 c) 'to get rid of as an eyesore to Peiraeus,' or 'to remove from Peiraeus, as an eyesore.' The τῶν Ἀττικῶν τις was Pericles, according to Aristotle (*Rhet.* III 10 § 7*d* ed. Cope), Περικλῆς τὴν Αἴγιναν ἀφελεῖν ἐκέλευσε, τὴν λήμην τοῦ Πειραιέως.

The saying is quoted again *Mor.* 803 A (without the author's name), also 186 C and in *Per.* c. 8, 5 as one of the very few recorded *mots* of the statesman. It is erroneously attributed to Dêmadês by Athenaeus III 99 D. Its meaning is clear, for, as Cicero (*de off.* III 10, 46) remarks, *nimis imminebat propter propinquitatem Aegina Piraeo;* cp. Thuc. I. 27, 1 τὴν Αἴγιναν ἀσφαλέστερον ἐφαίνετο, τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἐπικειμένην, αὐτῶν πέμψαντας ἐποίκους ἔχειν. This plan was executed B.C. 431 when the Aeginetans were expelled *en masse* by the Athenians and the island occupied by their cleruchi: the restoration of the remnant of the exiles by Lysander took place B.C. 404. Plutarch's quotation, however, of the saying of Pericles has no reference to its political bearing; he uses it merely to show the comparative insignificance of Aegina.

The subst. λήμη and the verb λημᾶν occur several times in Aristophanes (but in no other comic writer): *Lys.* 301 κἄστι λήμνιον τὸ πῦρ...οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποθ' ὧδ' ὀδὰξ ἔβρυκε τὰς λήμας ἐμοῦ, *Plut.* 581 ὦ Κρονικαῖς λήμαις ('old-fashioned dimnesses of vision' i.e. antiquated prejudices) ὄντως λημῶντες τὰς φρένας ἄμφω, *Nub.* 327 λημᾶς κολοκύνταις; also in Lucian *adv. indoct.* c. 23 οὐκ, εἴ γε μὴ χύτραις λημῶντες τυγχάνοιεν, *Tim.* 2 γέροντα καὶ φαλακρὸν—καὶ λημῶντα προσέτι.

15. ὑποκριτὰς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς τρέφειν καὶ ποιητάς: Aegina was the birth-place of Aristophanes, and of Polus, the great actor in the time of Demosthenes, of whom Plutarch c. 28, 3 speaks as ὑπερβαλόντα τῇ τέχνῃ πάντας. Observe that the clause introduced by μέν 'while,' 'although,' is logically subordinate to the following, though grammatically coordinate with it. This parataxis is usual, when two inconsistent facts are contrasted.

16. οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι: the ἄν gives the inf. a potential sense, corresponding to the opt. of direct discourse. The οὐ for μή is due to its distance from the main verb or to the avoidance of hiatus. Cp. *Arist.* c. 16, 2 διαμαρτάνειν αὐτοὺς ἔφασκεν, εἰ πρῴην μὲν...νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἀγαπῶσιν κτλ. **αὐτάρκη**, 'independent.'

17. ἐξενεγκεῖν, *efferre*, *edere*, 'produce,' *Demetr.* c. 1, 7, Xen. *Oecon.* c. 16, 5. The metaphor is continued in the following sentence.

§ **3.** l. **17. τὰς...ἄλλας τέχνας...τὴν δ' ἀρετήν**: a common Hellenism. It is not implied that virtue is classed among the arts and sciences. It is as if Plutarch had written τῶν ἄλλων ('in the case of other things besides virtue') τὰς τέχνας κτλ. 2

19. συνισταμένας, 'organised, as they are, with an eye to business (profit), as well as honour.' Cp. *Demetr.* c. 1, 2 αἱ τέχναι μετὰ λόγου συνεστῶσαι πρὸς...λῆψιν οἰκείου τινός.

The verb **ἀπομαραίνεσθαι** is a favourite with Plutarch: he uses it elsewhere of the decay of mental powers *Luc.* c. 43, of the decline of influence and reputation *Mar.* c. 31, 2, of the waste of energy caused τῷ μὴ ἄρχειν μηδὲ θορυβεῖν to τοὺς πολυπράγμονας καὶ νεωτεριστάς *Phoc.* c. 29, 4, of the gradual extinction of life by old age and disease *Num.* c. 21, 4, of the mitigation of resentment *Cor.* c. 19, 1, of the gradual loss of sight *Timol.* c. 37, 5, and generally of the continuous failure of vigor and power.

21. διαρκές, 'hardy.'

23. **ἐπιλαβομένην**, 'when it lays hold of, meets with.' **ὅθεν** (cp. *πόθεν* c. 9, 1) **οὐδ' ἡμεῖς...ἀναθήσομεν**, 'for which reason I also shall not attribute any shortcomings of my own to the meanness of my native place.' This use of the first pers. pl. for sing. is rare in prose. Cp. c. 2, 2; c. 22, 5. *ὡς δεῖ* must be repeated with **βιοῦν**. Plut. wrote most of his *Lives*, if not all, at Chaeronea in Boeotia, where he was born. **αὐτοῖς** is for *ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς*, cp. c. 23, 4.
26. **δικαίως**, 'as is right and proper.'

CHAPTER II

§ **1.** l. **1.** **τῷ μέντοι σύνταξιν ὑποβεβλημένῳ...χρὴ...ὑπάρχειν...ὡς ἀποδιδοίη τὸ ἔργον**, 'but one who has undertaken to compose, projected, some work or historical enquiry composed of etc.... should have first and foremost, as an advantage to start with...in order that he might duly fulfil his task.' *Σύνταξις*, concrete for *σύνταγμα* (*συντάττειν Per.* c. 2, 3, *Mor.* 1131 F), in the sense of 'a composition,' especially an historical work, occurs frequently in Polybius and late writers as Dionysius I *Ep. ad Amm.* c. 6 *τὰς κρατίστας συντάξεις προεκδεδωκώς*, *de comp. verb.* c. 4. Cp. *Dem.-Cic.* c. 1, 2 *Κικέρων συντάξεις ἰδίας φιλοσόφους ἀπολέλοιπεν οὐκ ὀλίγας εἰς τὸν Ἀκαδημαϊκὸν τρόπον.* *Ὑποβάλλεσθαι* means 'to lay the foundation of a building,' hence 'to commence an undertaking' of any kind. The *μέντοι* is correlative to *μέν*, as c. 1 l. 7.

2. **ἐξ οὐ προχείρων...συνιοῦσαν ἀναγνωσμάτων**, 'gathered out of books unknown in his own country and not easy to be got at (lit. 'ready to hand'), but many of them dispersed abroad and in foreign lands.' Observe the chiastic antithesis.

4. **συνιοῦσαν**, *coalescentem*, *collectam*. **ἀναγνωσμάτων**, *eorum quae leguntur*. Cp. *Philop.* c. 4, 3 *τῶν Ὁμηρικῶν...τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀναγνωσμάτων μάλιστα τοῖς Εὐαγγέλου τακτικοῖς ἐνεφύετο*, *Mor.* 675 A *τοῦτο μὲν τὸ ἀνάγνωσμα τῶν οὐκ ἐν μέσῳ ἐστί*, 854 A *ἀνάγνωσμα καὶ μάθημα καὶ ἀγώνισμα.*

5. **τῷ ὄντι**, *revera*, in reference to and in corroboration of the statement in c. 1, 1. **χρὴ πρῶτον ὑπάρχειν καὶ μάλιστα τὰν πόλιν...πολυάνθρωπον**, 'first and foremost the city, in which he resides, must above all things have been famous, devoted to liberal culture, and populous.'

8. **ὅσα τοὺς γράφοντας διαφυγόντα**, *ea quae quod scriptores fugerunt*, 'matters which having escaped the notice of writers.' Cp. *Nic.* c. 1, 5 *τὰ διαφεύγοντα τοὺς πολλούς*, *Thes.* c. 1, 1 *τὰ διαφεύγοντα τὴν γνῶσιν αὐτῶν*, Plato *Men.* p. 97 E *ἴσως καὶ διαφεύγει ἡμᾶς τὸ γνῶναι τίνα ποτε τρόπον γίγνονται οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες.*

9. **σωτηρίᾳ μνήμης ἐπιφανεστέραν εἴληφε πίστιν**, 'being safely treasured in the memory (lit. 'by the safe keeping of memory') have procured less doubtful recognition than others,' or, as Wyttenbach followed by Graux, 'surer credit' in large than in small towns, where the number of witnesses is more limited.

10. ὑπολαμβάνων ἀκοῇ, *suscipiens, excipiens auribus*.

11. μηδενὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεές, 'without its being defective in any material point.' **ἀποδιδοίη τὸ ἔργον**, *opus* (*debitum*) *absolveret*. Cp. c. 31, 4 ἀπέχεις, *Ti. Gr.* c. 1, 1 τὴν πρώτην ἱστορίαν ἀποδεδωκότες. The opt. is used in a pure final clause for the subjunctive after a primary clause, because the leading verb (ὑπάρχειν) in the latter implies a reference to the past. G. *MT.* § 323.

§ **2.** l. **13. ἡμεῖς—μικρὰν πόλιν**, c. 1, 3.

14. μικροτέρα, 'still smaller' by the absence of one citizen. **φιλοχωροῦντες.** See my n. to *Timol. Proem.* § 1 on the various significations of this verb deduced from its primary meaning of 'local attachment.'

15. ταῖς...διατριβαῖς, *commorationibus*.

For this meaning of διατριβή, cp. Plat. *Epist.* VII 330 B τῆς εἰς Σικελίαν ἐμῆς ἐπιδημήσεώς τε καὶ διατριβῆς, 337 E τῆς ἐν Σικελίᾳ διατριβῆς, *Legg.* VI 760 E ἐν ταῖς διατριβαῖς τῷ τόπῳ ἑκάστῳ, and for its various other meanings, see my note on *Them.* c. 2, 3 ed. 3.

16. σχολῆς οὔσης, which is coordinated with οἰκοῦντες, is equivalent to σχολάζοντες and so takes the infinitive, G. *MT.* § 749.

17. διάλεκτον, 'language.' See Wetstein on *Ep. Rom.* p. 18.

18. ὑπὸ χρειῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν...πλησιαζόντων 'owing to public demands on my time and the number of those who came to me as pupils for the sake of instruction in philosophy.' For πλησιάζειν, cf. *Them.* c. 2, 5 with my note *ad l.*, *Dion.* c. 1, 1 αὐτῷ Πλάτωνι πλησιάσας, *Mor.* 145 B ἐντυγχάνων καὶ πλησιάζων τοῖς ὠφελοῦσι.

19. ποτέ, *aliquando*.

20. πόρρω τῆς ἡλικίας *sc.* ὄντες, 'when far advanced in age.'

This is a partitive gen. with an adverb of place, denoting a point in and of the whole; cp. *Rom.* c. 20, 3 ἀνὴρ ἡλικίας πόρρω ἥκων, *Cam.* c. 15, 4 ἤδη πόρρω τοῦ πάθους ἀμφοτέρων γεγονότων, *Cat. ma.* c. 2, 4 πόρρω ἡλικίας Ἑλληνικὰ βιβλία λαβὼν εἰς χεῖρας, Plat. *Euthyphr.* 4 πόρρω σοφίας ἐλαύνειν, Xen. *Hier.* c. 4, 4 οὕτω πόρρω προεληλύθασι φυλακῆς. This sense of πόρρω must be carefully distinguished from that of 'far from.' G. § 182, 2, HA. § 757.

21. ἐντυγχάνειν, 'to read,' a common meaning in late Greek; see my n. to *Nic.* c. 1, 1. For συντάγμασιν, 'compositions,' cp. σύνταξιν l. 1.

§ **3.** l. **23. οὐχ οὕτως—ὡς**, *non tam—quam*, 'not so much... 3
as.'

25. ἐπακολουθεῖν δι᾽ αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι, 'to follow (mentally) the meaning of the (corresponding) words by means of them.' δι᾽ αὐτά is logically superfluous, but serves to bring out the opposition between τὰ πράγματα and τὰ ὀνόματα more vividly. For

ἐπακολουθεῖν, cp. Plat. *Soph.* 203 A *εἴτ' ἐπακολουθοῦμεν αὐτοῖς λέγουσιν εἴτ' ἀπολειπόμεθα*, *Theaet.* 168 E *ἄμεινον ἂν ἐπακολουθήσειε λόγῳ διερευνωμένῳ.*

27. ἀπαγγελίας, 'style.' See Gr. Ind. *s. v.* **τάχους**, 'quickness,' the power of expressing much and to the point in few words. Cp. *Cat. ma.* c. 12, 5 *τὸ τάχος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς φράσεως*, Dionys. Hal. *Ep. ad Amm.* II 2 where amongst the four *ὄργανα τῆς λέξεως* with which he credits Thucydides one is *τὸ τάχος τῆς σημασίας*, *de Thuc. hist. iud.* c. 24 where he speaks again of his *τάχος τῆς ἀπαγγελίας*, *de comp. verb.* c. 20 *ἔφθακε τὴν τοῦ λίθου φορὰν τὸ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας τάχος*, Quintil. *inst. or.* 10, 1, 102 *immortalem illam Sallusti velocitatem*, Cic. *Orat.* 16, 53 *flumen aliis verborum volubilitasque cordi est qui ponunt in orationis celeritate eloquentiam*, Eupolis ap. Plin. *Ep.* 120 attributes *τάχος* to Pericles, which Pliny renders by two different words *brevitas* and *velocitas*, 'conciseness' and 'rapidity.'

28. ἁρμονίας, 'oratorical rhythm,' rather than 'symmetry,' 'neatness of expression.' Cp. *Mor.* 16 A *οὔτε μέτρον οὔτε τρόπος οὔτε λέξεως ὄγκος οὔτ' εὐκαιρία μεταφορᾶς οὔτ' ἁρμονία οὔτε σύνθεσις ἔχει τοσοῦτον αἱμυλίας καὶ χάριτος, ὅσον εὖ πεποιημένη διάθεσις μυθολογίας.*

30. πρὸς τοῦτο *sc. πρὸς τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι κτλ.* **οὐκ εὐχερὴς ἀλλ' οἷστισιν**, 'is not (ordinarily) easy, but (only) for those to whom etc.' Ἀλλά here takes the place of *ἀλλ' ἤ*, *nisi*, which Plutarch perhaps rejected to avoid the hiatus of *ἤ* before *οἷς*.

31. τὰ τῆς ὥρας, 'their age,' 'youth.' **32. ἐπιχωρεῖ**, 'allows,' 'admits of' *sc. μελέτην καὶ ἄσκησιν.* **πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας φιλοτιμίας**, 'for (the satisfaction of) such aspirations.'

CHAPTER III

§ 1. l. **1. διὸ καί**, c. 16, 1.

2. ὄντι πέμπτῳ: on the order in which Plutarch published his parallel *Lives*, see my Introduction to *Life of Nicias* p. xxxii ff. The *Life of Demosthenes* is ninth and forms the first half of the fifth Book. In the ordinary arrangement, which is purely arbitrary, this and the *Life of Cicero* are numbered 56 and 57 respectively.

3. ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν 'from (by the light of) their doings and public careers,' as contrasted with their speeches, about which Plutarch does not concern himself. On *πολιτειῶν* for *πολιτευμάτων*, cp. c. 11, 6, *Mor.* 826 C.

5. τὰς φύσεις, *ingenia*, *mores*. Cf. Thuc. VII c. 14, 2, 4; c. 48, 4, Arist. *Pac.* 608. **τὰς διαθέσεις** c. 1, 1.

6. πρὸς ἀλλήλας, 'side by side with each other.'

7. **ἀντεξετάζειν**, 'to compare,' 'try one by the standard of the other,' as *Tim.* c. 36, 2, *Caes.* c. 3, 2 στρατιωτικοῦ λόγον ἀνδρὸς ἀντεξετάζειν πρὸς δεινότητα ῥήτορος εὐφυοῦς, Dion. Hal. *Ep. ad Cn. Pomp.* Vol. VI p. 754, 7 ed. Reiske μήτε ποίησιν ἀντεξετάζειν ἑτέρᾳ ποιήσει...μήτε πολιτείαν πολιτείᾳ. **ἀποφαίνεσθαι**, *pronuntiare:* c. 10, 2; c. 18, 4.

8. **δεινότερος εἰπεῖν**, 'more able of the two as a speaker.'

The expression δεινὸς εἰπεῖν is not so common as δεινὸς λέγειν. Cp. *Marc.* c. 27, 1 δεινὸν εἰπεῖν ἄνδρα καὶ βίαιον, *Anton.* c. 58, 6 ὃς ἦν ἀξιώματος μεγάλου καὶ δεινότατος εἰπεῖν Ῥωμαίων, c. 80, 2 ἀνὴρ εἰπεῖν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τῶν πώποτε σοφιστῶν ἱκανώτατος, *Eum.* c. 11, 2 εἰπεῖν οὐ δεινός.

ἐάσομεν, *intactum relinquemus.* See cr. n.

§ **2.** l. **9.** **κἀκεῖ**, 'in that matter also,' *sc.* in the attempt to compare their speeches. **ὁ Ἴων**: Ion of Chios, the lyric, elegiac and tragic poet, a contemporary of Sophocles and Euripides, died B.C. 422.

Wyttenbach is of opinion that Ion's complete line was

οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ δελφῖνος ἐν χέρσῳ βία,

and that it was followed by those quoted from the *Phoenix* by Athenaeus III p. 91 D (Nauck p. 573 ed. 1, Wagner p. 30 ed. Paris)

ἀλλ' ἔν γε χέρσῳ τὰς λέοντος ᾔνεσα
ἢ τὰς ἐχίνου μᾶλλον οἰζυρὰς τέχνας·
ὃς εὖτ' ἂν ἄλλων κρεισσόνων ὁρμὴν μάθῃ,
στρόβιλος ἀμφάκανθον εἰλίξας δέμας
κεῖται δακεῖν τε καὶ θιγεῖν ἀμήχανος.

The last two of the above lines are quoted *Mor.* 971 F.

10. **δελφῖνος ἐν χέρσῳ βία**, like our 'a fish out of water,' was an adage applicable to those who embark in undertakings, for which they are not fitted by nature. The dolphin, strong as he is in the water, is helpless ashore.

11. **ἥν** *sc.* παροιμίαν, 'which proverbial saying,' with ἀγνοήσας.

On the omission of παροιμία, see Schäfer's note on Greg. *de dial. Att.* p. 14, who compares Phot. *Lex.* c. 419 'τὰ Σαμίων ὑποπτεύσεις.' αὕτη λέγεται ἐπὶ τῶν δεδιότων κτλ., c. 434 'τί οὐκ ἀπήγξω, ἵνα Θήβησιν ἥρως γένῃ.' κέχρηται αὐτῇ Πλάτων κτλ., c. 438 'τὸ σκαμβὸν ξύλον οὐδέποτε ὀρθόν.' αὕτη δημώδης ἐστὶ καὶ φανερά, Scholia in Plat. p. 60 Ruhnk. 'οὐ πόλεμον ἀγγέλλεις,' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγαθὰ ἀγγελλόντων. Ἐμνήσθη ταύτης καὶ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Νόμων.

περιττός, *curiosus.* Cp. Polyb. IX 1, 4 τὸν πολυπράγμονα καὶ π.

Caecilius, a Greek rhetorician of Calacte (Καλὴ Ἀκτή) in Sicily, contemporary with Virgil and Horace and a friend of Dionysius Halicarn., was the author of a Treatise *On the Sublime*, now lost. The extant work περὶ ὕψους, for a long time wrongly attributed to Longinus, was written in reply to that of Caecilius. See *Introduction.* **ἐνεανιεύσατο...ἐξενεγκεῖν**, 'ventured with youthful pre-

sumption to publish.' *νεανιεύεσθαι* is properly 'to act like a youth,' 'to swagger.' Cp. *Cic.* c. 1, 2, where it is also followed by the infinitive.

13. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως, εἰ παντὸς ἦν......θεῖον εἶναι, 'but enough of that, for doubtless had it been every one's nature to be ready to act upon (lit. 'to have ready at hand,' c. 2, 1; c. 8, 5) the precept 'Know thyself,' it would not have been popularly regarded as divine.'

For *πρόχειρον*, cp. *Cat. mi.* c. 1, 5 *λόγον ἔχων τοῦ κονδύλου προχειρότερον*, *Mor.* 16 A *μηδὲν οὕτω μεμελετημένον ἔχοντα καὶ πρόχειρον*, 92 E *τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος ἔχειν ἀεὶ δεῖ πρόχειρον*, 143 F *πρόχειρον ἔχειν τὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου*, 616 D *τοὺς Ἀριστοτέλους τόπους ἔχειν προχείρους*. For gen. *παντός* after *ἦν*, see HA. § 732 c.

15. τὸ πρόσταγμα θεῖον: cp. Juv. *Sat.* XI 27 *e caelo descendit* *Γνῶθι σεαυτόν*, with Prof. Mayor's exhaustive note *ad l.* Two inscriptions met those who set foot in the pronaos of the temple of Apollo at Delphi (Pausan. 10, 24, 1), *γνῶθι σεαυτόν* and *μηδὲν ἄγαν* (*Mor.* 116 D)—two maxims which in the eyes of the Greeks were the embodiment of all practical wisdom. The inscriptions were dedicated as the first-fruits of their wisdom by the seven sages met at Delphi, Plato *Protag.* p. 343.

16. τὸν αὐτὸν πλάττων, *fingens eundem*, 'while forming Cicero one and the same as Demosthenes' so that they were exactly alike.

17. πολλὰς μὲν ἐμβαλεῖν—πολλὰ δ' ἀναμῖξαι καὶ τῶν τυχηρῶν, 'to have made many points of resemblance between them part and parcel of his (Cicero's) natural character, and to have mixed up with them many accidental resemblances.' With *πολλὰς τῶν ὁμοιοτήτων*, cp. Arist. *Vesp.* 199 *ὤθει πολλοὺς τῶν λίθων*, Xen. *Cyr.* VI ii 26 *πολλὴ τῆς ὁδοῦ*, and see G. § 168 N. 1, HA. § 730 e.

19. ὥσπερ, 'as for example.'

4 § **3.** l. **22. οὐκ ἂν εὑρεθῆναι,** potential infinitive, as c. 1, 1 *οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι*. **ἐκ μικρῶν,** 'from being small,' 'out of little;' cp. Xen. *Cyr.* VIII iii 39 *ἐκ πένητος πλούσιος γεγένησαι*.

24. προσκρούσαντας, 'giving offence to,' 'making enemies of,' lit. 'coming into collision with.' The verb is not found at all in Thucydides or Xenophon, but frequently in Demosthenes and once in Plato, in this metaphorical sense. Cf. c. 14, 4; *Them.* c. 20, 2 with note *ad l.*; *Eum.* c. 2, 1 *προσέκρουσε πολλάκις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ*.

25. θυγατέρας ἀποβαλόντας: the plural subst. is used, because each lost a daughter. See *Dem.* c. 22, 2; *Cic.* c. 41, 5. **ἐκπεσόντας...κατελθόντας,** 'exiled,' 'restored.' See *Dem.* c. 27, 5; *Cic.* c. 33, 5.

26. ἀποδράντας αὖθις: *Dem.* c. 28, 1; *Cic.* c. 47 f.

27. ἅμα...παυσαμένῃ...συγκαταστρέψαντας, 'ending their days simultaneously with the extinction of the independence of their

fellow-citizens.' Plutarch often uses *καταστρέφειν* with or without *βίον* in the sense of 'to end one's life.' See note to c. 30, 4.

§ **4.** l. **31.** **διακριθῆναι**: the subject is *ἅμιλλαν*, 'a trial of skill,' or the clause *πότερον...ἀπείργασται*. Usually *ἐκεῖνος* refers to the former, *οὗτος* to the latter of two terms, but the reference is sometimes left to be determined by the context, as here, where **αὕτη** refers to *ἡ φύσις*, **ἐκείνη** to *ἡ τύχη*. **τοῖς τρόποις**, dative of respect, HA. § 780, G. § 188 N. 1.

32. **τοὺς ἄνδρας** 'the (two) men,' used as in c. 15, 1; c. 23, 5 for demonstrative pronoun.

34. Cp. *Dion.* c. 2, 4 *τὸν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου προεισαγάγωμεν.*

CHAPTER IV

THE LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES

§ **1.** l. **1.** **ἦν τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν**, 'was of a good family.' The *καλοὶ κἀγαθοί* correspond to Lat. *optimates*, *optimus quisque*, and are frequently opp. by Plut. to *δῆμος*. Cp. *Cic.* c. 29, 3, and for the genitive, c. 1, 1. **Θεόπομπος**: *Philipp.* x fr. 105.

Libanius, *Life of Dem.* p. 1 ed. Reiske, says:—*Δημοσθένει τῷ ῥήτορι πατὴρ ἦν Δημοσθένης, ἀνεπίληπτος τῷ γένει δοκῶν, ὡς καὶ Αἰσχίνης* (*Ctesiph.* § 171) *ἐχθρὸς ὢν μαρτυρεῖ· εἴρηται γοῦν οὕτως αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι· 'τούτῳ πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Δημοσθένης ὁ Παιανιεύς, ἀνὴρ ἐλεύθερος· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ψεύδεσθαι.'* Cp. the testimony of Demosthenes himself in *or. c. Aph.* II § 22.

3. **ἐπεκαλεῖτο μαχαιροποιός**, 'was sur-named or nicknamed Cutler.' Libanius *l.c.* *ἐργαστήριον δὲ οἰκετῶν μαχαιροποιῶν κεκτημένος ἐντεῦθεν τὴν τοῦ μαχαιροποιοῦ κλῆσιν ἔλαβε*, Lucian *rhet. praec.* c. 10. In Juvenal *Sat.* x 130 he appears as a blacksmith *ardentis massae fuligine lippus*. For *ἐπεκαλεῖτο*, cp. c. 11, 5; *Mor.* 184 A *Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Ἱεράξ*, 213 A *Ζεὺς ἐπεκλήθη*, Xen. *Mem.* I iv 2 *Ἀριστόδημον τὸν μικρὸν ἐπικαλούμενον*.

5. **τοὺς τοῦτο πράττοντας**, 'who were employed in this business' i.e. of cutlery, according to Demosth. himself, as many as 32 or 33. He was also proprietor of an upholstery in which he employed 20 or more slaves. **ἃ δ' Αἰσχίνης...καταψευδόμενος**: the statement of Aeschines is that Gylon, an Athenian citizen of the deme *Κεραμεῖς*, had betrayed Nymphaeum, a Milesian colony in the Tauric Chersonese (*Crimea*) tributary to Athens, and for this act of treason against the state was sentenced to death in his absence. In his enforced retirement, he settled at Panticapaeum (near *Kertsch*) the principal city of the Chersonese, on the west side of the Cimmerian Bosporus, and was presented by the reigning dynast with a large grant of land at Cepi on the Asiatic side, and married a Scythian lady of good fortune, by whom he had two daughters, one of whom, Cleobule, became the wife of Demos-

thenes the Elder and mother of the great orator, the other was married to Demochares, of the Attic deme Leuconoe (*or. c. Aph.* I § 14; II § 4). This statement is nowhere contradicted by Demosthenes himself, as it probably would have been, had it been false.

Aeschines (says Grote *Gr. Hist.* XI p. 369 Note 2) has probably exaggerated the gravity of the sentence against Gylon, who seems only to have been fined (cf. Dem. *c. Aph.* II § 1, § 2 p. 835 F where it is stated that Gylon paid the fine before his death). His establishment in the kingdom of Bosporus, and his nuptial connexion there formed must have taken place during the closing years of the Peloponnesian war (412—405 B.C.), when Athens could no longer maintain ascendency over, or grant protection to, a distant tributary like Nymphaeum. It was therefore natural that the Athenian settlers there, engaged probably in the corn trade with Athens, should seek security by making the best bargain they could with the neighbouring Archon of Bosporus, who was probably Satyrus I. See also vol. XII p. 648 ff. and Isocr. *Trapez.* § 5, § 9, § 47, Lys. *or. p. Mantitheo* § 4 p. 145.

7. **γεγόνοι**, an unusual form for *γεγονὼς εἴη*.

8. **βαρβάρου γυναικός**: A. Schäfer (*Dem. und seine Zeit* I p. 268) and Grote (*Hist.* XI p. 369) think it much more probable that Gylon's wife was the daughter of some Greek, not an Athenian, resident at Bosporus. At any rate we cannot accept the slanderous expressions of Aeschines (*Ctes.* § 172) who declares that Demosthenes was *τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Σκύθης, βάρβαρος ἑλληνίζων τῇ φωνῇ*, 'a true-born barbarian, with nothing Greek in him but his language.' Cp. also *de f. leg.* § 78 *ἐκ τῶν νομάδων Σκυθῶν τὸ πρὸς μητρὸς γένος ὤν*, § 22 where he speaks of him as *οὐκ ὢν ἐπιχώριος...οὐδ' ἐγγενής*, § 87, § 171, § 180 where he begs the dicasts to save him *καὶ μὴ τῷ λογογράφῳ καὶ Σκύθῃ κακῷ ὄντι παραδοῦναι*, § 183 *ἀνθρώπῳ συκοφάντῃ βαρβάρῳ*. Dinarchus likewise *or.* 1 § 15 speaks of him as *τὸν κατάπτυστον τοῦτον καὶ Σκύθην*, and again § 95 as *οὔτε τῷ γένει τῆς πόλεως πολίτης οὔτε τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις αὐτῷ*. Aeschines further insinuates (*de f. l.* § 50) that Demosth. must have got his name enrolled in the burgess list of the deme Paeania only by special favour (*παρέγγραπτος* § 177) and not legally.

9. **βλασφημῶν**, 'slanderously.'

§ **2.** l. **11.** **ἐν εὐπορίᾳ**, 'in affluent circumstances.' Xen. *Cyr.* III iii 7 *εὐπορία τις προσγεγένηται.* **μικρὸν ἀπέλιπεν...ταλάντων**, 'the whole value of his estate fell (only) a little short of fifteen talents.' Dem. *Aph.* I § 4 *Δημοσθένης οὑμὸς πατὴρ κατέλειπεν οὐσίαν μὲν σχεδὸν τεττάρων καὶ δέκα ταλάντων, ἐμὲ δ' ἔπτ' ἐτῶν ὄντα*, *vit. X orr.* 844 A *καταλειφθεὶς ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ μετ' ἀδελφῆς πενταέτιδος.*

The talent and mina were alike not coins but measures of weight, one talent's weight of silver being equivalent to 60 minas or 6000 drachmas. The value of the Attic coin drachma was 9½*d.* or, according to Seyffert (*Dict. of Antiq.* ed. Nettleship-Sandys), 8*d.* The value of the father's estate was therefore either £3562. 10*s.* 0*d.*, or £3000, according to the value of the drachma.

13. **ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἠδικήθη...ἀμελησάντων.** The three Athenians, to whom he bequeathed the guardianship of his children and his property upon certain trusts, were Aphobus, his sister's son, who was to marry his widow Cleobule with a portion of 80^{m} and the use of the house and furniture till his son came of age; Demophon, his brother Demon's son, who was to have 2^{t} and marry

the orphan daughter as soon as she reached the age of puberty, and Therippides, an old friend of his and member of the same deme, who was to enjoy the interest of 70m till the son came of age. The residue of the estate was to be invested, so as to accumulate for the benefit of the son. It seems that the guardians, during their ten years of administration, grossly neglected their duty, and not only failed to satisfy the conditions upon which they took their own legacies, but wasted or misappropriated the bulk of the property. They did not attempt to invest according to the directions in the will, the result being that, when Demosthenes came of age, the estate, instead of being greatly increased—as it might easily have been by good management, considering the favourable circumstances of the time—was reduced to less than a tenth of its original value.

14. νοσφισαμένων, 'appropriating,' a poetical word found only once in good Attic Prose, Xen. *Cyr.* IV ii 42. Cp. *Lucull.* c. 37, 1, *Arist.* c. 4, 2, *Pomp.* c. 4, 1, *Cat. mi.* c. 45, 1.

15. τῶν διδασκάλων αὐτοῦ τὸν μισθὸν ἀποστερῆσαι, a rare construction: cp. *Aem. Paul.* c. 26, 4 *τὸν ἔλεον ἀπεστέρησεν ἑαυτοῦ.* The usual constr. is an acc. of the person as well as of the thing, as in Dem. *Aph.* I § 46 *ἐς τοσοῦτον αἰσχροκερδείας ἦλθεν* (Ἄφοβος) *ὥστε καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους τοὺς μισθοὺς* (i.e. *τὰ δίδακτρα*) *ἀπεστέρηκε.*

§ **3.** l. **16. τῶν ἐμμελῶν...μαθημάτων**, 'of the suitable subjects of instruction.' Plutarch's conclusion (*δοκεῖ*) is probably incorrect or exaggerated. Dem. says of himself (*de cor.* § 257) *ἐμοὶ ὑπῆρξεν παιδὶ μὲν ὄντι φοιτᾶν εἰς τὰ προσήκοντα διδασκαλεῖα καὶ ἔχειν ὅσα χρὴ τὸν μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιήσοντα δι' ἔνδειαν*; cp. *ibid.* § 265. For the gen. after *ἀπαίδευτος*, see G. § 180, 1 Note 2, and cp. Xen. *Cyr.* III iii 55 *τοὺς ἀπαιδεύτους παντάπασιν μουσικῆς.*

For the meaning of *ἐμμελής*, cp. *Lucull.* c. 1, 3 *ἦν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν χρείαν μόνην ἐμμελὴς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρόχειρος ὁ λόγος ... ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐμμελῆ ταύτην καὶ λεγομένην ἐλευθέριον ἐπὶ τῷ καλῷ προσεποιεῖτο παιδείαν ἔτι καὶ μειράκιον ὤν*, c. 16, 1, *Dion* c. 17, 1 *βουλομένου τοῦ Πλάτωνος ὁμιλίᾳ χάριν ἐχούσῃ καὶ παιδιᾶς ἐμμελοῦς κατὰ καιρὸν ἁπτομένῃ ἀφηδύνεσθαι τοῦ Δίωνος τὸ ἦθος.*

18. δοκεῖ, *mihi videtur.* Cp. c. 12, 2, 3; *φαίνεται* c. 13, 1.

19. θρύψιν, 'delicacy of constitution,' an unclassical word, found once in Xen. *Cyr.* VIII viii 16. Cp. *Lyc.* c. 14, 2 *ἀφελὼν θρύψιν καὶ σκιατροφίαν καὶ θηλύτητα πᾶσαν.* **οὐ προϊεμένης τοῖς πόνοις... αὐτόν**, 'since his mother did not give him up to, kept him back from, the laborious and fatiguing exercises of the palaestra.' Cp. Lib. *vit. Dem.* p. 2, 18 *κομιδῇ νέος ἦν μέν, ὥς φασιν, ἀσθενὴς τῷ σώματι καὶ νοσώδης, ὥστε μηδὲ εἰς παλαίστραν φοιτῆσαι.* Demosthenes had to make up for this early neglect of physical training and consequent awkwardness and ungainliness of appearance by unusual pains at a later period of his life. Hence the taunt of Aeschines *Ctes.* § 255:—*βουλεύσασθε τίνες ὑμῶν εἰσιν οἱ βοηθήσοντες Δημοσθένει, πότερον οἱ συγκυνηγέται ἢ οἱ συγγυμνασταὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτ' ἦν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ. ἀλλὰ μὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον οὐχ ὗς ἀγρίους κυνηγετῶν*

οὐδὲ τῆς τοῦ σώματος εὐεξίας ἐπιμελόμενος ἀλλ' ἐπασκῶν τέχνας ἐπὶ τοὺς τὰς οὐσίας κεκτημένους διαγεγένηται.

20. **προσβιαζομένων**, 'forcing him thereto.' See my n. on προσαναγκάζειν Thuc. VII 8, 4.

21. **κάτισχνος**, 'of very slender habit.' See cr. n.

23. **τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν...λαβεῖν**: cp. Plato *Soph.* 267 D πόθεν ὄνομά τις λήψεται πρέπον ἑκατέρῳ αὐτῶν; **εἰς τὸ σῶμα σκωπτόμενος**, 'being ridiculed for his personal appearance.' Cp. *Nic.* c. 8, 2 σκώπτει αὐτὸν εἰς ταῦτα Ἀριστοφάνης, *Timol.* c. 15, 2, *Lyc.* c. 19, 1 σκώπτοντος τὰς Λακωνικὰς μαχαίρας εἰς τὴν μικρότητα, Arist. *Pac.* 740 εἰς τὰ ῥάκια σκώπτοντας.

§ **4.** l. 25. **Βάταλος**: we meet with the name first in Aeschines *Tim.* § 126 (a passage quoted by Aulus Gellius *Noct. Att.* 1, 5, 1), where the orator makes Dem. give vulgar instances of the injustice of popular rumours and adds:—παραφέρει δ' αὐτὸν ἐν σκώμματος μέρει, ὡς ἡδὺς ἀνὴρ καὶ περὶ τὰς ἰδίας διατριβὰς γελοῖος· 'εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐμὲ δεῖ' φησὶν 'ὑπακούειν τοῖς ὄχλοις μὴ Δημοσθένην καλούμενον ἀλλὰ Βάταλον, ὅτι ταύτην ἐξ ὑποκορίσματος τίτθης τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχω.' Whereupon Aeschines speaks up for popular rumour and adds:—περὶ τῆς Δημοσθένους ἐπωνυμίας, οὐ κακῶς ὑπὸ τῆς φήμης Βάταλος προσαγορεύεται, ἐξ ἀνανδρίας καὶ κιναιδείας ἐνεγκάμενος τοὔνομα, 'for' he continues 'if the dicasts, before whom he pleads, had given into their hands the smart mantles and the soft raiment he wears, without being told whose they were, they would not be able to say, whether they belonged to a man or woman.' Cf. § 23, *de f. l.* § 127, § 148, § 179 where he calls him an ἄνανδρος καὶ γυναίκειος ἄνθρωπος. There seems little doubt that Westermann's explanation of the origin of the nickname is right:—*causam nullam aliam fuisse puto quam linguae haesitantiam.—Itaque Dem.* βατταρίζων (i.e. 'stuttering') *blanditer a nutrice* Βάτταλος *vocatus esse videtur, quod nomen postea Aeschines maligne in obscoenum* Βάταλος *convertit* (ἐν παισὶ μὲν γὰρ ὢν ἐκλήθη δι' αἰσχρουργίαν τινα καὶ κιναιδίαν Βάταλος *de f. leg.* § 99); although we do not find any such explanation given by ancient writers, who all connect with the word the meaning of unmanly voluptuousness, as in the *X or. vit.* 847 E φασὶ δέ τινες καὶ ἀσώτως αὐτὸν βιῶναι, γυναικείαις τ' ἐσθῆσι χρώμενον καὶ κωμάζοντα ἑκάστοτε, ὅθεν Βάταλον ἐπικληθῆναι, Clem. Alex. *Paedag.* III 3, 23 βατάλους δὲ καὶ γύνναδας καλεῖν τούτους χρή, ὧν καὶ αἱ φωναὶ τεθρυμμέναι καὶ ἡ ἐσθὴς τεθηλυμμένη ἁφῇ καὶ βαφῇ.

26. **αὐλητὴς τῶν κατεαγότων**, 'a flute-player of the effeminate sort.' So Lucian *adv. ind.* c. 23. Cp. Athenae. XIV p. 524 F ἀνειμένοι τὴν δίαιταν καὶ κατεαγότες, Dion. Hal. *de comp. verb.* c. 18 ὑπὸ γυναικῶν ἢ κατεαγότων ἀνθρώπων, Hierocl. Stobae. 491, Xen. *Oec.* c. 6, 5 αἱ βαναυσικαὶ τέχναι τὰς ψυχὰς καταγνύουσι. Cp. Libanius *l. c.* p. 2, 28:—ἱστόρηται γάρ τινα Βάταλον Ἐφέσιον αὐλητὴν γενέσθαι, ὃς πρῶτος ὑποδήμασι γυναικείοις ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐχρήσατο καὶ μέλεσι κατεαγόσι καὶ ὅλως τὴν τέχνην ἐμάλθαξεν· ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοὺς ἐκλύτους καὶ ἀνάνδρους Βατάλους ἐκάλουν. For the partitive gen., cp. Xen. *An.* VI i 4 βοῦς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, Andoc. 4, 22 γυναῖκα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. **εἰς τοῦτο** *sc.* τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν αὐλ. τῶν κ., c. 1, 1.

27. **Ἀντιφάνης**: Antiphanes of Rhodes and Alexis were the two most distinguished representatives of the Middle Comedy—

a transition between the Ancient Comedy (Aristophanes) and the New (Menander)—of which the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, as arranged for a second representation, is the only piece extant. Antiphanes belonged almost to the same generation as Demosthenes.

28. **παροίνια** *sc.* *ᾄσματα*, 'drinking songs,' called *βατάλεια*. The existence of such a song composer is open to doubt (see Index I p. 155): it is quite as likely that the name was invented, for want of a better etymology of the word.

29. **δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ κτέ.** The order is:—*τι τῶν τοῦ σώματος μορίων* (*τῶν*) *οὐκ εὐπρεπῶν λεχθῆναι δοκεῖ τότε καλεῖσθαι...βάταλος παρὰ τοῖς* 'A. Cp. Harpocrat. *s. v.* Εὔπολις (*Baptae* 82) *τὸν πρωκτὸν βάταλον λέγει· μήποτε* (*forte*) *οὖν ἔνθεν τοὺς κιναίδους βατάλους λέγουσιν*. For the construction *οὐκ εὐπρεπῶν λεχθῆναι*, see G. *MT.* § 763 N. 1, HA. *Gr.* § 981.

§ **5.** l. **31.** **ὁ 'Αργᾶς** for *τὸ* 'Αργᾶς, 'the name Argas,' as *τὸν* B. for *τὸ* Βάταλος l. 25. Aesch. *de f. l.* § 99 *ἐκ παίδων δὲ ἀπαλλαττόμενος καὶ δίκας ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων λαγχάνων 'Αργᾶς ἐκλήθη*, Bekker *Anecd.* 442, 30 *"Αργας· ὁ δεινότατος παρ' ἡλικίαν ἄργας καλεῖται. οὕτως ἔλεγον καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην.* Argas is mentioned by Anaxandrides (Kock *CGF.* II pp. 141, 152) and by Alexis (*ib.* p. 304). For the accent, cp. Herodian I 51, 4 *ἔτι δὲ περισπῶνται ταῦτα μόνως κύρια ἢ ὑποκοριστικά*, 'Ερμᾶς, 'Αργᾶς *κτλ.*

33. **παρωνύμιον**, 'a by-name, surname.' Cp. *Num.* c. 21, 1 *οἷς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ* 'Ρῆγας *γενέσθαι παρωνύμιον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ βασιλέας*, *Fab.* c. 1, 3 *ἦν δ' αὐτῷ σωματικὸν παρωνύμιον ὁ* Οὐερρουκῶσος, *Cat. ma.* c. 27, 4, *Cim.* c. 1, 1 *ὄνομα Δάμων, παρωνύμιον δὲ* Περιπόλτας.

37. **νόμων**, *modorum*, 'songs,' the music and words of which were composed by the same author. **ἀργαλέων** (*ἄλγος*) 'disagreeable,' 'affected,' with a play on the composer's name. Cp. *Mor.* 384 B Κινησίας *ἀργαλέος ἔοικε ποιητὴς γενέσθαι διθυράμβων*.

38. **καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ταύτῃ** *sc.* *ἔστω*, *hactenus haec*, 'so much for this' i.e. for the origin of his nicknames.

CHAPTER V

§ **1.** l. **3.** **Καλλιστράτου**: Callistratus, son of Callicrates, of the deme Aphidna, the distinguished orator and statesman (Aesch. *de f. l.* § 124, Dem. *de cor.* § 219, *de f. l.* § 297), who was frequently placed by the voice of the people at the head of the armies, with Chabrias, Timotheus and Iphicrates for colleagues, flourished from about B.C. 379 to B.C. 361, when he was condemned to death and fled from Athens to Methone on the Thermaic gulf. He was the originator of some useful reforms in Macedonia [Aristot.] *Oecon.* 2, p. 1350ᵃ, and in Thrace, where he found refuge. Later on he imprudently entered Attica without authority, and was seized and put to death. Lycurg. *c. Leocr.* § 93 *τίς γὰρ οὐ μέμνηται τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἢ τῶν νεωτέρων οὐκ ἀκήκοε* Καλλίστρατον,

οὗ θάνατον ἡ πόλις κατέγνω, τοῦτον φυγόντα, καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀκούσαντα ὅτι ἂν ἔλθῃ Ἀθήναζε τεύξεται τῶν νόμων, ἀφικόμενον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν καταφυγόντα καὶ οὐδὲν ἧττον ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀποθανόντα; δικαίως· τὸ γὰρ τῶν νόμων τοῖς ἠδικηκόσι τυχεῖν τιμωρία ἐστίν. Aristotle refers to two other speeches of his, *Rhet.* I 14, 1; III 17, 4. Beloch devotes an interesting Chapter of his *Die Attische Politik seit Perikles* (pp. 145—162) to him.

Theopompus (ap. Athenae. IV c. 61 p. 166 E) in the tenth Bk of his *Philippica* speaks of him as *πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀκρατής, τῶν δὲ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμελής*, and Eubulus (*ib.* X c. 71 p. 449 E, Mein. *FCG.* III 254, Kock II 201), a poet of the new comedy in his play named *Sphingokarion* refers to his versatility and covertly to the profligacy of his private life;—

A. *ἓν δ' ἐστὶν καὶ πολλά, καὶ ἂν τρώσῃ τις ἄτρωτος.*
τί ἐστι τοῦτο; τί ἀπορεῖς; B. *Καλλίστρατος.*
A. *πρωκτὸς μὲν οὖν οὗτος.* B. *σὺ δὴ ληρεῖς ἔχων.*
A. *οὗτος γὰρ αὐτός ἐστιν ἄγλωττος λάλος,*
ἓν ὄνομα πολλοῖς, τρωτὸς ἄτρωτος, δασὺς
λεῖος· τί βούλει; πνευμάτων πολλῶν φύλαξ.

4. **τὴν περὶ Ὠρωποῦ κρίσιν**: Nothing positive can be made out respecting this famous trial; neither the date, nor the act in question, nor the manner in which Callistratus was concerned in it, nor who were his opponents.

Oropus, a town on the NE frontier of Attica, on the coast of the Euboean sea, opposite Eretria, was a port of great importance to Athens, because it commanded the commercial intercourse between Decelea and Euboea. It was subject to the Athenians at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, but never incorporated in a deme, only recognised as a dependency. It was lost to them in B.C. 411, after which time it remained independent until B.C. 402 when it fell into the hands of the Thebans, but was again restored to the Athenians (Isocr. *Plat.* § 22). The Thebans, who were constantly intriguing for the recovery of it (Isocr. *ib.* § 40), had been forced to yield just before the battle of Leuctra, and their partisans in Oropus took shelter at Eretria. The Oropian refugees, with the assistance of Themison, ruler of Eretria (Aesch. *de f. l.* § 164, *Ctes.* § 85), and Theodorus, recovered possession of their city B.C. 366.

The Athenians, who had at that time other business on their hands, and could not obtain any aid from their allies in Peloponnesus, agreed to leave the Thebans provisionally in undisturbed possession of the place, though under protest and with the understanding that their respective claims should be submitted afterwards to impartial arbitration (Xen. *Hell.* VII iv 1, Diod. XV c. 76, Thirlwall *Hist. Gr.* V p. 173 ff.). The Thebans refused subsequently to surrender the place, and the advisers of this compromise—Callistratus and Chabrias, the celebrated general—were brought to trial by Leodamas (Arist. *Rhet.* I 7, 13). The impeachment took place in B.C. 365, when Demosthenes was an *ἔφηβος*. Moreover this was not a forensic (§ 2) but a public cause. Plutarch, therefore, must refer to some other occasion, when Callistratus pleaded, if his statement as to the age of Demosth. be correct. See A. Westermann *Qu. Dem.* III p. 6 n. But in *vit. X orr.* 844 C we find Καλλιστράτου

μέλλοντος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ λέγειν, when Demosth. was still under a *παιδαγωγός*.

§ **2.** l. **9.** **συντιθεμένων τῇ δίκῃ παρατυχεῖν**, 'agreeing among themselves to attend at the trial.' Cp. c. 8, 2, *Ant.* c. 44, 2 *αὐτὸς οὐδεμιᾷ μάχῃ παρέτυχεν*, *Brut.* c. 21, 3 *παρατυχεῖν ταῖς θέαις*, and for *συντίθεσθαι* w. inf., *Dion* c. 16, 3 *συνθέμενος εἰς ὥραν ἔτους μεταπέμψασθαι Δίωνα*, Plat. *Rep.* 359 A *ξυνθέσθαι ἀλλήλοις μὴ ἀδικεῖν*, *Crat.* 383 A *ξυνθέμενος καλεῖν*. 6

10. **ἔπεισε...προθυμούμενος ὅπως ἀγάγοι**, 'by his entreaty, and the eager desire which he manifested, prevailed upon him to take him.' On Plutarch's fondness for *ὅπως* with conj. or opt. after verbs signifying entreaty etc, see my n. to *Timol.* c. 22, 4, and cp. *Cleom.* c. 6, 4 *ἔπεισε τοὺς ἐφόρους ὅπως ψηφίσωνται*.

11. **πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν**, 'to the pleading.'

12. **τοὺς...δημοσίους**, *famulos*, *lictores*.

13. **συνήθειαν**, 'acquaintance.' See Gr. Ind. *s.v.* **εὐπόρησε χώρας**, 'provided himself with, obtained, a place.' On this meaning of *εὐπορεῖν*, see the exx. collected in my Lex. to *Timol.* p. 228 b. **ἐν ᾗ...ἀκροάσεται**, 'in which he might hear;' the future indic. in relative clause expressing purpose, G. *MT.* § 565. Cp. *Pyrrh.* c. 26, 2 *χρήματα δ' οὐκ ἔχων ἐζήτει πόλεμον, ᾧ θρέψει τὸ στράτευμα*, *Act. Apost.* VI 3 *ἐπισκέψασθε ἄνδρας ἐξ ὑμῶν οὓς καταστήσομεν* i.e. 'whom we *may* appoint' (not, 'whom we *will* appoint').

14. **ἀδήλως**, 'without being seen.' Demosth. had not yet taken his place among the ephebi, and therefore had no right to be present at public assemblies.

§ **3.** l. **15.** **εὐημερήσαντος**, 'when he had succeeded,' 'won his cause.' See Gr. Ind. *s.v.* and cp. *Them.* c. 31, 4.

17. **ὑπὸ πολλῶν**, 'by a large following;' the variant *ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν* would of course mean 'by the populace.' See cr. n.

19. **τιθασεύειν πεφυκότος**, 'having a natural power to captivate,' lit. 'born to tame.' For *τιθασεύειν*, cp. c. 17, 5, *Timol.* c. 12, 1, *Cat. mi.* c. 33, 4 *ταῖς χάρισι τιθασεύσαντες τὸν ὄχλον*, *Num.* c. 8, 3 *δημαγωγῶν καὶ τιθασεύων τὸ θυμοειδές*, *Caes.* c. 6, 3 *εἰ τετιθάσευται* (*ὁ δῆμος*) *ταῖς φιλοτιμίαις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*.

20. **ἐάσας...τὰς παιδικὰς διατριβάς**, 'dropping the pursuits and pastimes of a boy.' Cp. Liban. *l.c.* p. 2—3 *λέγεται δὲ τὸν Δημοσθένην τὴν πολλὴν καὶ σφοδρὰν ἐπὶ λόγους ὁρμὴν ἐντεῦθεν σχεῖν. Καλλίστρατος ἦν Ἀθηναῖος ῥήτωρ ἔνδοξος· οὗτος ἔμελλε δημοσίαν τινὰ δίκην ἀγωνίζεσθαι, φασίν, οἶμαι τὴν περὶ Ὠρώπου. ὁ τοίνυν Δ. παῖς ὢν ἐδεῖτο τοῦ ἐφεστῶτος οἰκέτου συγχωρῆσαι παραβαλεῖν* (*adesse*) *αὐτῷ τῇ δίκῃ· καὶ ὃς ἐπέτρεψεν. ἀκούσας δὲ οὕτω διετέθη ὥστε ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ὥρας πάντα πάρεργα πρὸς τοὺς λόγους θέσθαι.* For the various meanings of *διατριβή*, see my n. to *Them.* c. 2, 3. **21.** **αὐτὸν** must be taken with *διεπόνει* as well as with *ἤσκει*, as in c. 6, 2; c. 7, 3, *Mor.* 358 B *ἔπειτα τῷ Ὥρῳ τὸν Ὄσιριν ἐξ ᾅδου παραγενόμενον διαπονεῖν* (*sc. αὐτὸν*) *ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην καὶ ἀσκεῖν*.

For the meaning of διαπονεῖν, *exercitando instituere*, 'to train by exercise,' cf. *Mar.* c. 13, 1 ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ τὴν δύναμιν (*copias*) διεπόνει καθ' ὁδὸν ἐξασκῶν δρόμοις παντοδαποῖς, *Cim.* c. 11, 3 πολλοὺς διαπονῶν ταῖς στρατείαις, *Eum.* c. 4, 3 τὰ σώματα κινήσεσι καὶ μελέταις διαπονῶν, *Pomp.* c. 51, 1, *Caes.* c. 3, 1 λέγεται διαπονῆσαι φιλοτιμότατα τὴν φύσιν, *Cat. mi.* c. 5, 3 διεπόνει τὸ σῶμα γυμνασίοις ἐνεργοῖς, *Mor.* 227 D τὰ σώματα τῶν παρθένων δρόμοις καὶ πάλαις διεπόνησεν, 8 C πέμποντας εἰς παιδοτρίβου τοὺς παῖδας ἱκανῶς ταῦτα διαπονεῖν, 561 D διαπονήσας τὸ σῶμα γυμνασίοις, *Cic.* c. 4, 3 αὐτόν τε ταῖς μελέταις διεπόνει καὶ τοὺς ἐπαινουμένους μετιὼν ῥήτορας.

22. **ταῖς μελέταις**, *meditationibus*, 'exercises,' c. 6, 1; c. 11, 2. **ως ἂν...ἐσόμενος**, 'as hoping to take his place some day among the public speakers.' Plutarch generally conforms to the Attic usage of ἄν. We must therefore either add this to the list of passages given by Goodwin *MT.* § 216 in which the future participle with ἄν is found representing the fut. indic. with ἄν, or refer this particle to an implied optative ἀσκοίη καὶ διαπονοίη, taking ἐσόμενος (= εἰ μέλλοι ἔσεσθαι) as the protasis.

§ **4.** l. 23. **ἐχρήσατο δὲ Ἰσαίῳ...ὑφηγητῇ**, 'he employed Isaeus as his master in rhetoric.' Isaeus (c. B.C. 420—350), a λογογράφος or professional writer of speeches for the law-courts and the earliest master of strict forensic argument, is numbered among the ten great Attic Orators. His twelve extant Speeches are on private causes relating to claims of property.

Plutarch here states that the studies of Dem. with Isaeus began while he was still a minor and living in his mother's house, and he is followed by Libanius *l.c.* p. 3; whereas in *vit. X orr.* 844 C we read that on coming of age (ὅτε ἐγεγόνει ἐξ ἐφήβων) he took him home and studied under him for four years. But Dem. must have attained his majority and received the guardians' account before he could have resolved on the suit-at-law. The intercourse between Isaeus and Dem. was probably not very intimate or of very long duration. The two speeches *against Aphobus* (B.C. 363) and those *against Onetor* (B.C. 362) were written at a time when their author was mostly under Isaean influence. Prof. Jebb (*Attic Orators* Vol. II p. 301 ff.) has shown in what particular points this betrays itself.

25. **σχολάζοντος**, 'was keeping a school,' a rare meaning of the word; cp. Dionysius Halic. *Ep. ad Ammaeum* I c. 5 ἐσχόλαζεν ἐν Λυκείῳ χρόνον ἐτῶν δώδεκα. Its usual meaning is the same as that of συνεσχολακέναι l. 31. Isocrates, the celebrated teacher, political essayist and rhetorician (B.C. 436—338), opened a school at Athens, where he continued to teach from B.C. 392 until the end of his life. He had disciples from all parts of Greece at one time, and to have been 'a pupil of Isocrates' was a sort of passport (Cicero *Brut.* § 32 *cuius domus cunctae Graeciae quasi ludus quidam patuit atque officina dicendi*). Among his disciples were statesmen, as Timotheus, Laodamas, Lycurgus, Hyperides; rhetoricians and philosophers, as Isaeus, Speusippus; historiographers, as Ephorus and Theopompus.

An anonymous Biographer (p. 254, 36 f Westermann) says of him ἐλάμβανε δὲ χρήματα παμπολλὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς διδασκαλίας, παρὰ μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδέν, ὥσπερ γέρας τοῦτο κατατιθέμενος καὶ τροφεῖα καταβάλλων τῇ πατρίδι, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ξένων χιλίας δραχμάς, and so *vit. X orr.* 838 E πολίτην δ' οὐδέποτ' εἰσέπραξε μισθόν. (His

own language in his speech περὶ ἀντιδόσεως §§ 146, 164 is irrelevant, because it refers to the law-suits of his fellow-citizens, not to his own teaching.) On the other hand in the speech πρὸς Λάκριτον, who had been a pupil of Isocrates, it is said of the defendant (§ 15) πιστεύει τῷ λέγειν καὶ ταῖς χιλίαις δραχμαῖς ἃς δέδωκε τῷ διδασκάλῳ, and (§ 40) εἴ τις βούλεται σοφιστὴς εἶναι καὶ Ἰσοκράτει ἀργύριον ἀναλίσκειν. The anecdote told in *vit. X orr.* 837 D is in direct contradiction to the statement as quoted above:—καὶ Δημοσθένη δ' ἔτι ῥητορεύοντί φασι μετὰ σπουδῆς προσελθεῖν αὐτῷ (Isocrati) καὶ χιλίας μὲν ἃς εἰσεπράττετο οὐκ ἔχειν φάναι, διακοσίας δὲ μόνας δώσειν ἐφ' ᾧ τε τὸ πέμπτον μέρος ἐκμάθοι, τὸν δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι ὡς 'Οὐ τεμαχίζομεν, ὦ Δημόσθενες, τὴν πραγματείαν, ὥσπερ δὲ τοὺς καλοὺς ἰχθῦς ὅλους πωλοῦμεν, οὕτω κἀγώ σοι, εἰ βούλοιο μαθητεύειν, ὁλόκληρον ἀποδώσομαι τὴν τέχνην.'

εἴτε τελέσαι μὴ δυνάμενος, 'whether because he could not, being an orphan, afford to pay the prescribed fee of ten minas.' μή is used by Plut. after εἴτε—εἴτε with the predicate causal participle (esp. βουλόμενος) in 13 passages; οὐ is found in 9 others mostly with finite verbs, with the participle only twice. *C. Stegmann* p. 8.

28. μᾶλλον...ἐπὶ τὴν χρείαν ἀποδεχόμενος, 'preferring for practical use;' **δραστήριον**, 'vigorous,' 'effective:' cp. Dion. H. *de Dem.* c. 21. **πανοῦργον**, 'subtle.' **Ἕρμιππος**: see note to c. 28, 3.

§ 5. l. **30. ἀδεσπότοις**, 'anonymous.' *Cic.* c. 15, 2 ἐπιστολάς, ...ἄλλας ἄλλοις ἐπιγεγραμμένας, αὐτῷ δὲ Κράσσῳ μίαν ἀδέσποτον. **ἐντυχεῖν**, c. 2, 2. **31. συνεσχολακέναι Πλάτωνι** i. e. μαθητὴν γεγονέναι Πλάτωνος (*Koraes*). Cobet would read ἐσχολακέναι.

The tradition, which probably came from the Biographers of the Peripatetic School, was confirmed by Mnesistratus of Thasos, a pupil of Plato (Diog. Laert. III 47). Cicero appeals to a letter of Demosth. in support of the tradition (*Brut.* c. 31, 121, *Orat.* c. 4, 15); but this letter (V 3) is one of those now acknowledged to be forgeries. Quintilian (XII 2, 22) follows Cicero. See A. Schäfer *Dem. u. s. Zeit* I p. 312. 'The story is intrinsically improbable; for, when Dem. was old enough to learn from him, Plato's influence was almost entirely limited to the circle of professed philosophers' (*G. A. Simcox*).

33. Κτησιβίου: see *Introduction*. **Καλλίου τοῦ Συρακοσίου.** We know nothing about this Callias of Syracuse. He is not to be confounded with his compatriot of the same name, who wrote the history of Sicily during the reign of Agathocles B.C. 317—289, and was therefore much younger than Demosthenes. See the following note.

35. τὰς τέχνας, *artes*, 'treatises on rhetoric.' Cp. *vit. X orr.* 844 C ὡς δὲ Κτησίβιός φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ φιλοσοφίας, διὰ Καλλίου τοῦ Συρακουσίου πορισάμενος τοὺς Ζήθου τοῦ Ἀμφιπολίτου λόγους, διὰ δὲ Χαρικλέους τοῦ Καρυστίου τοὺς Ἀλκιδάμαντος, ἀνέλαβεν αὐτούς.

Ἀλκιδάμαντος: Alcidamas of Elea, one of the Aeolian colonies on the coast of Asia Minor, was a popular rhetorician of the school of Gorgias (Athenae. XIII p. 592 C). He is probably the person alluded to by Plato *Phaedr.* p. 261 C, D under the name of Palamedes. Two dissertations of the demonstrative kind—(*a*) Ὀδυσσεὺς κατὰ Παλαμήδους προδοσίας, a declamation like the *Encomium on Helen* and the *Busiris* of Isocrates, and (*b*) περὶ τῶν τοὺς γραπτοὺς λόγους γραφόντων ἢ περὶ σοφιστῶν, which may have been composed to counteract the influence

of Isocrates—are included by Reiske in his *Oratores Graeci* Vol. VIII pp. 64—91 and by Baiter-Sauppe in their *Oratt. Att.* p. 15, II pp. 154—162; but their authenticity is very doubtful. Aristotle mentions his λόγος Μεσσηνιακός—a declamation in defence of the revolt of the Messenians from the Lacedaemonians—twice (*Rhet.* I 13, 3 p. 1373[b], 6, II 23, 1 p. 1397[a], 7). He seems to have imitated and even outdone Gorgias in the extravagance of his metaphors, some examples of which are given by Aristotle *Rhet.* III 3, 4, *e.g.* his description of philosophy as *ἐπιτείχισμα τῶν νόμων*, and of the *Odyssey* as *καλὸν ἀνθρωπίνου βίου κάτοπτρον.*

CHAPTER VI

§ **1.** Observe the accumulation of circumstantial participles—so characteristic of Plutarch—in the two clauses beginning *ὡς δ' οὖν...ἤρξατο* and ending l. 10 *ἐνεχείρησεν...τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν.* We have in the first clause the temporal *γενόμενος*, followed by the causal *εὑρίσκοντας*, in the second *ἐγγυμνασάμενος*, which introduces the apodosis, expressing the means or cause of *κατευτυχήσας* and *τόλμαν λαβών*; *κατευτυχήσας* itself is concessive in reference to the finite verb *οὐκ ἠδυνήθη*, which is in a clause logically subordinate to *ἐνεχείρησεν...πράττειν.* Translate: 'he began to write speeches against them (his guardians), since they kept devising subterfuge after subterfuge etc., and by this training and practice coupled with some risk and exertion—though he was unable, for all that he succeeded in getting a verdict in his favour, to recover ever so small a fraction of his patrimony—yet he acquired assurance in speaking and sufficient familiarity, so that he ventured to come before the public and engage in political life.'

1. δ' οὖν, 'be that as it may' i.e. whether the story of his getting possession of these *τέχναι* be true or not, or, more generally, whoever may have been his instructors in oratory. **ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενος**, 'when he had come of age,' i.e. entered his eighteenth year.' He became *ἔφηβος* in his sixteenth year, and he remained such for two years (*ἐπὶ διετὲς ἥβησεν*), at the end of which period he attained his civil *ἐφηβεία*, underwent his *δοκιμασία εἰς ἄνδρας* which terminated his wardship, was registered in the *ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον* of his deme and became entitled to civic rights. This was in the archonship of Cephisodorus B.C. 366.

2. λογογραφεῖν, 'to compose speeches.' The word occurs again in the *comp. Dem.-Cic.* c. 3, 4 but nowhere else in Plutarch.

3. διαδύσεις καὶ παλινδικίας 'evasions and new trials.'

Demosthenes gained his action against his guardian Aphobus (in the *orr.* I, II *c. Aph.*). Aphobus however was not disposed to acquiesce in the verdict, but attempted to defeat it by proceeding against Phanus, one of the witnesses, for false testimony. The conviction of Phanus might possibly lead, he thought, to the granting of a new trial in the original cause. Dem. defended Phanus and obtained a second verdict against Aphobus (*or.* III *c. Aph.*). The damages against Aphobus were assessed at ten talents, the amount claimed: but Aphobus, with a view to prevent Dem. obtaining execution or reaping the fruits of his verdict, made away with almost all his moveables, leaving little or nothing that

could be seized in execution. Just as Dem. had taken possession of a house and made entry upon a piece of land in assertion of his right, he was opposed by Onetor, the brother-in-law of Aphobus, who pretended that he had a mortgage on the land, which was now repayable. This was a *διάδυσις*, 'an evasion, subterfuge' which gave rise to another action, one of ejectment against Onetor, in which Dem. delivered his two extant *Speeches*.

4. ἐγγυμνασάμενος: cp. *Agesil.* c. 36, 3 *ταῖς πολλαῖς στρα-* 7
τείαις...ὥσπερ ἐγγυμνασαμένους, *Caes.* c. 28, 2 *τοῖς Κελτικοῖς ἐγγυμνασάμενος πολέμοις ἐπήσκησε τὴν δύναμιν*, *Anton.* c. 68, 1 *μυρίων ἀγώνων...μεταβολαῖς ἐγγεγυμνασμένοις.*

5. κατὰ τὸν Θουκυδίδην, 'to use an expression of Thucydides,' I c. 18, 3 *ἐμπειρότεροι ἐγένοντο μετὰ κινδύνων τὰς μελέτας ποιούμενοι.* Cf. *Mor.* 79 F *μὴ μόνον, ὡς Θουκυδίδης ἔλεγε, μετὰ κινδύνων ποιούμενοι τὰς μελέτας.*

6. κατευτυχήσας...ἠδυνήθη μέρος: We have his own statement to this effect (*Onet.* II § 14), *καταδικασάμενον καὶ δι' ὀρφανίαν ἠδικημένον...ἠναγκάσθαι τοιαῦτα παθεῖν, κεκομισμένον μηδ' ὁτιοῦν.* That eventually he did get back something but much less than he was entitled to, appears from *Midias*, § 80 *οὐχ ὅσα ἐδυνήθην ἀνακομίσασθαι προσδοκῶν εἰσπράξειν ἀλλ' ὅσων ἐμαυτῷ συνῄδειν ἀπεστερημένῳ.* Aeschines (*Ctes.* § 173) sneers at the ill success of his attempts: *τὰ πατρῷα καταγελάστως προέμενος.* In the *vit. X orr.* 844 E it is stated *εἷλεν αὐτούς, τῆς δὲ καταδίκης οὐδὲν ἐπράξατο, τοὺς μὲν ἀφεὶς ἀργυρίου, τοὺς δὲ καὶ χάριτος.*

7. οὐδὲ πολλοστὸν μέρος, 'not even the smallest fraction,' lit. 'the many-eth' or one of an indefinitely large number. Cp. Thuc. VI 86, 5, Xen. *Mem.* III i 6, IV vi 7, Isaeus *de Cleon. her.* § 34 *τοὺς οἰκειότατα κεχρημένους οὐδὲ πολλοστοῦ μέρους ἀξιῶσαι*, Lys. *pro Arist. bon.* § 34 *οὐδὲ πολλοστὸν μέρος τῆς δόξης τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν ἐφάνη τὰ χρήματα.*

8. συνήθειαν, 'familiarity,' 'practice,' acquired by association (prop. that of living or herding together).

9. τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας...δυνάμεως, 'of the distinction and influence to be gained in forensic practice.' Cp. c. 13, 5; c. 30, 2.

10. εἰς μέσον παριέναι, 'to come forward (as a speaker) before the public,' c. 18, 1. Hence *οἱ παριόντες*, 'the speakers,' [Dem.] *de synt.* § 14.

11. τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν, 'to take part in public business,' c. 12, 1, *Cic.* c. 4, 2, *Them.* c. 2, 6, *Sol.* c. 14, 1 *τοῖς κοινοῖς προσελθεῖν.*

§ **2.** l. **11. καθάπερ** has for its correlative the second *οὕτως* l. 16 before *Δημοσθένει*. As we know nothing about this Laomedon of Orchomenus, it is impossible to say whether Orchomenus in Boeotia or in Arcadia is meant. Aelian *var. hist.* IV 15 tells a similar story of one Straton, who *εὖ μὲν γένους ἥκων εὖ δὲ καὶ πλούτου οὐκ ἐγυμνάζετο· καμὼν δὲ τὸν σπλῆνα καὶ θεραπείας δεηθεὶς τῆς ἐκ τῶν γυμνασίων, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὅσον ἐς τὸ ὑγιᾶναι ἐχρῆτο αὐτοῖς.*

χωρῶν δὲ ἐς τὸ πρόσω τῆς τέχνης καὶ ἐν ἔργῳ τιθέμενος αὐτήν, Ὀλυμπίασιν μὲν ἐνίκησεν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πάλην καὶ παγκράτιον.

13. ἀμυνόμενον, 'by way of keeping off.' The imperfect participle is more often used than the present in a conative sense. Cf. *Them.* c. 2, 6 *τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν ἀποτρέπων αὐτὸν ἐπεδείκνυε κτέ.*

14. οὕτως *sc. δρόμοις μακροῖς χρώμενον.* **διαπονήσαντα τὴν ἕξιν:** see n. to c. 5, 3.

15. τοῖς στεφανίταις ἀγῶσι, 'games the prize of which was a crown.'

This was the distinctive title of the four great national games of Greece, of which honour was really the prize, the crown of leaves being merely an external symbol. They were distinguished from *ἀγῶνες θεματικοί, ἀργυρῖται* or *χρηματῖται,* and *δωρῖται,* in which a sum of money or some object of real value was the prize and in which mercenary motives therefore might possibly enter into the competition. Cp. *Mor.* 820 C, Herod. V 102 *ἀγὼν στεφανηφόρος,* Aesch. *Ctes.* § 179, Dem. *Lept.* § 141, Isocr. *Antid.* § 301, Andoc. *Alcib.* § 32, Lyc. *c. Leocr.* § 51, Arist. *Rhet.* I, 2 § 13, Diod. Sic. IV c. 14, Anthol. Gr. Jacobs Vol. II p. 122 ed. 1814:—

τέσσαρές εἰσιν ἀγῶνες ἀν' Ἑλλάδα, τέσσαρες ἱροί,
ἄθλα δὲ τῶν κότινος μῆλα σέλινα πίτυς.

τῶν ἄκρων γενέσθαι δολιχοδρόμων, 'turned out one of the first-rate runners in the long course.' This consisted in running round the stadium seven times according to some, twenty-four times according to others, without stopping. In the latter case the runner had to turn round the end twelve times, returning each time to the starting point, and the *δολιχὸς δρόμος* was equivalent to twelve *δίαυλοι* or double courses. For *ἄκρος,* cp. *Per.* c. 4, 2 *ἄκρος σοφιστής, Num.* c. 13, 3, *Tib. Gr.* c. 10, 3, *Pelop.* c. 23, 3.

17. ἐπανορθώσεως ἕνεκα τῶν ἰδίων, 'for the recovery of his property.' See Gr. Ind. *s.v.* **ἀποδύντι,** 'when he had stripped' i.e. prepared for the contest—a metaphor from gymnastic games. So *Mor.* 811 E *πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀποδυόμενοι πολιτικὴν πρᾶξιν,* Aelian *var. hist.* II 30 *ἀπεδύσατο ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν,* XII 1 *ὡς πρὸς ἀντίπαλον, τὸν πότον ἀποδυόμενοι,* Diod. Sic. II 29 *ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἀποδύντες, Them.* c. 3, 4 ed. 3. **18. ἐκ τούτου,** *postea.*

19. δύναμιν, *eloquendi facultatem,* c. 8, 2; c. 20, 3.

20. πρωτεύειν τῶν......πολιτῶν, 'to take the lead among those of his fellow-citizens who were rival speakers in the public assembly.' Cp. Xen. *Mem.* III vii 4 *οὐ ταὐτόν ἐστιν, ἔφη, ἰδίᾳ τε διαλέγεσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ πλήθει ἀγωνίζεσθαι.* **τοῦ βήματος,** 'the speaker's tribune' or 'platform,' c. 7, 1; c. 18, 1; *Them.* c. 19, 3.

§ 3. l. 22. ἐντυγχάνων, 'when he was addressing.'

Cp. *Phoc.* c. 21, 1 *Πυθέαν ἀρχόμενον τότε πρῶτον ἐντυγχάνειν Ἀθηναίοις, Cat. ma.* c. 12, 3 *δι' ἑρμηνέως ἐνέτυχε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δυνηθεὶς ἂν αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν, Anton.* c. 40, 4 *ὢν δήμῳ πιθανὸς ἐντυχεῖν.* So *ἐντεύξεις ὀχλικαί,* 'speeches to the mob,' Dionys. Hal. *de Thuc. iud.* c. 50.

24. συγκεχύσθαι: see Gr. Ind. *s.v.* *συγχεῖσθαι*.

25. βεβασανίσθαι, 'to have been strained, distorted.' Cp. Dionys. Hal. *de Thuc. iud.* c. 41, 8 *λέξει κέχρηται καθαρᾷ καὶ σαφεῖ καὶ οὐδὲν ἐχούσῃ σχῆμα βεβασανισμένον οὐδὲ ἀνακόλουθον*, *ib.* c. 55, 1 *τὰς αἰνιγματώδεις (κατασκευὰς)......καὶ πολὺ τὸ βεβασανισμένον καὶ τὸ σολοικοφανὲς ἐν τοῖς σχηματισμοῖς ἐχούσας μὴ θαυμάζειν.*
τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν, 'with formal arguments.' Cp. c. 8, 3, *Phoc.* c. 5, 4 *ῥῆμα καὶ νεῦμα μόνον ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ μυρίοις ἐνθυμήμασι καὶ περιόδοις ἀντίρροπον ἔχει πίστιν*, *Sol.* c. 24, 2, *Demetr.* c. 11, 1.
ἄγαν πικρῶς καὶ κατακόρως, 'to a disagreeable and nauseous excess.' For *πικρῶς*, cp. *Mor.* 802 E quoted c. 8 l. 22.

26. ὡς ἔοικε, *ut fertur*, 'by all accounts.'

27. γλώττης ἀσάφεια, 'indistinctness of utterance,' c. 11, 1. **πνεύματος κολοβότης**, 'shortness of breath.' Cp. *vit. X orr.* 844 E quoted c. 7, 1 l. 4, Liban. 62—66 *τραυλὸς μὲν ἦν τὴν γλῶτταν ἐκ φύσεως, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἀτονώτερος· ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων συνέβαινε φαυλοτάτην αὐτὸν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν παρεχόμενον οὐκ εὐδοκιμεῖν τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις.*

28. ἐπιταράττουσα τὸν νοῦν, 'confusing the meaning,' 'interrupting the sense.' *Cic.* c. 7, 3 *πολλοὺς τῶν ὀρθῶν ἐπετάραξε λογισμῶν.* **τῷ διεσπάσθαι τὰς περιόδους**, 'by reason of his sentences having been disjointed, being incoherent.'

§ **4.** l. **29. τέλος**, *tandem.* **ἀποστάντα τοῦ δήμου καὶ ῥεμβόμενον**, 'when he had forsaken the assembly and was strolling disconsolately about.'

The verb *ῥέμβεσθαι* is un-classical. It is applied to restlessness of movement, as in *Mor.* 981 C *ῥέμβεται καὶ πλανᾶται*, *Fab.* c. 26, 3 *ῥεμβόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου.* Hence its figurative meaning 'to be unsettled in mind,' 'distracted,' *Pomp.* c. 20, 3 *ῥεμβόμενον ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι*, *Mor.* 80 F *ἐν εἰδώλοις καὶ σκιαῖς ῥεμβόμενος*, 521 C *δεῖ δὲ μὴ καθάπερ θεράπαιναν ἀνάγωγον ἔξω ῥέμβεσθαι τὴν αἴσθησιν* i.e. *debet sensus non instar petulantis ancillae foras evagari*, 1067 E *νήφων οὐδὲ εἷς ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀλλὰ ῥεμβόμεθα πάντες...κακοδαιμονοῦντες*, Marc. Anton. *de rebus suis* II 7 *περισπᾷ τί σε τὰ ἔξωθεν ἐμπίπτοντα· σχολὴν πάρεχε σεαυτῷ τοῦ προσμανθάνειν ἀγαθόν τι καὶ παῦσαι ῥεμβόμενος.*

31. Εὔνομος ὁ Θριάσιος: Eunomus, of the deme Thria in the tribe Oeneis, who was one of the earliest pupils of Isocrates. He appears to have been a personal friend of the orator Lysias. **γέρων**, *sc.* *ὤν*. It is implied that in his boyhood he had heard Pericles.

32. ἔχων, concessive.

τῷ Περικλέους: No specimens remain of the oratory of Pericles, but it appears to have been chiefly remarkable for its great charm and energy; hence the epithet Olympius which was given him, Arist. *Ach.* 530 (quoted by Cic. *orat.* § 29, Plin. *Ep.* I 20, 17, Quintil. *or. inst.* XII 10, 65), *Mor.* 118 D *Περικλέα δέ, τὸν καὶ Ὀλύμπιον προσαγορευθέντα διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸν λόγον καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν ὑπερβεβλημένην δύναμιν*, Diod. Sic. XII 40, 5 *διὰ τὴν δεινότητα τοῦ λόγου, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν*

ὠνομάσθη Ὀλύμπιος, who also quotes the famous passage from the Δῆμοι of Eupolis (*Com. Att.* I 281 fr. 94 ed. Kock):—

> κράτιστος οὗτος ἐγένετ' ἀνθρώπων λέγειν·
> ὁπότε παρέλθοι δ', ὥσπερ ἀγαθοὶ δρομῆς,
> ἐκ δέκα ποδῶν ᾕρει λέγων τοὺς ῥήτορας·
> ταχὺς λέγειν μέν, πρὸς δέ γ' αὐτοῦ τῷ τάχει
> πειθώ τις ἐπεκάθιζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χείλεσιν·
> οὕτως ἐκήλει καὶ μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων
> τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις.

33. **προδίδωσιν ὑπ' ἀτολμίας...ἑαυτόν**, 'he sacrifices himself by reason of his faint-heartedness.'

34. **ὑφιστάμενος**, 'bearing up against,' 'facing,' *Them.* c. 3, 1. Cp. Liban. 70 f καὶ γὰρ δειλὸς ἦν τὸ πρῶτον πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ δήμου θορύβους καὶ εὐκατάπληκτος, ὥστε εὐθὺς ἐξίστασθαι, and Demosth. himself *de f. l.* § 206 τίνα δ' οὗτοι μὲν ἄτολμον καὶ δειλὸν πρὸς τοὺς ὄχλους φασὶν εἶναι, ἐγὼ δ' εὐλαβῆ; ἐμέ.

8 35. **πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας**, 'for forensic contests.' **ἐξαρτυόμενος**: *Mor.* 973 D καθάπερ ὄργανον ἐξαρτυομένου τὴν φωνήν. **τρυφῇ περιορῶν μαραινόμενον**, 'allowing it to waste away from inaction.' See *Addenda*.

CHAPTER VII

§ **1.** l. **2.** **ἐκπεσόντος αὐτοῦ**, 'when he had met with a rebuff.'

For ἐκπίπτειν applied to the failure especially of a speaker or actor, cp. *Pomp.* c. 46, 3 ἐκπίπτων δὲ καὶ περιωθούμενος ὁ Πομπήϊος ἠναγκάζετο δημαρχοῦσι προσφεύγειν, Dem. *de cor.* § 265 ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριττον, Plat. *Gorg.* p. 517 A εἰ οὗτοι ῥήτορες ἦσαν οὔτε τῇ ῥητορικῇ ἐχρῶντο—οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐξέπεσον—οὔτε τῇ κολακικῇ, Aelian *var. hist.* VIII 12 ἐξέπεσε ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς λέγων.

3. **συγκεχυμένου**, *confusi*, 'put out,' 'disconcerted.' See cr. n. and Gr. Ind. *s. v.* συγχεῖσθαι.

4. **Σάτυρον**: Satyrus of Olynthus, the celebrated comic actor, to whose estimable character an honourable testimony is given by Demosth. (*f. l.* § 213) in opposition to the licentiousness of Aeschines. At the Olympian festival given by Philip of Macedon, after the fall of Olynthus B.C. 348, when that King was bestowing crowns on other actors, Satyrus begged, as his reward, the liberation of two Olynthian captives, daughters of an old friend of his, upon whom he subsequently bestowed marriage portions at his own cost.

According to another version of the anecdote (*vit. X orr.* 845 A, Quintil. II 3, 7), it was the tragedian Andronicus, himself an actor of great repute (Athenae. XIII p. 584 d), who rendered Demosthenes the service recorded in the text. And in the *vit. X orr.* 844 E Demosthenes is said to have paid Neoptolemus for similar services:—τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτῷ ἐνδέοντος Νεοπτολέμῳ τῷ ὑποκριτῇ μυρίας δοῦναι ἵνα ὅλας περιόδους ἀπνεύστως λέγῃ.

5. **συνεισελθεῖν**, 'entered (the house) with him.' See cr. n.

7. **τῶν λεγόντων,** c. 5, 3; c. 11, 3.

8. **μικροῦ δέων καταναλωκέναι,** 'being within a little of having used up, though he had nearly spent all, his bodily strength.' See Gr. Ind. *s.v.* *δεῖν.*

9. **εἰς τοῦτο** *sc.* *εἰς τὸ λέγειν.* **χάριν οὐκ ἔχει πρὸς τὸν δῆμον,** 'he is not in favour with the people.' So *δόξαν ἔχειν* (c. 8, 2) 'to be thought;' *πίστιν ἔχειν* (c. 10, 3) 'to be trusted;' *ἔλεον ἔχειν* 'to be pitied' *Them.* c. 10, 5; *αἰτίαν ἔχειν* 'to be blamed' *ib.* c. 12, 3; *συγγνώμην ἔχειν* 'to be pardoned;' *διαβολὴν ἔσχεν* *Cic.* c. 8, 1; *φθόνον ἔσχε=ἐφθονήθη* *Them.* c. 29, 2.

10. **ἀλλὰ κραιπαλῶντες...κατέχουσι τὸ βῆμα:** an allusion apparently to Demades, of the deme Laciades, who began life as a sailor (*ναύτης*) and, according to Pytheas (ap. Athenae. II 44 f), was more or less of a sot, though he was one of the most popular speakers at Athens in the IV[th] century. See c. 23, 5 and *Addenda;* what is said of him by Plut. cc. 8, 10, 23, 28 and 31, and for his particular propensity, Quintil. *inst. orat.* II 17, 12. **ναῦται** is in attributive apposition to *ἄνθρωποι,* which here, as often, implies contempt or commiseration, HA. *Gr.* § 625. Cp. Aesch. *de f. l.* § 153 *ἀνθρώπῳ γόητι,* Lys. *Nicom.* § 28 *ἀνθρώπους ὑπογραμματέας,* Plat. *Phaed.* 87 B *περὶ ἀνθρώπου ὑφάντου.*

11. **κατέχουσι τὸ βῆμα:** c. 23, 2. **παρορᾶται:** Gr. Ind. *s.v.*

§ **2.** l. **12.** **φάναι** depends on *φασὶν* l. 2.

14. **ῥήσεων:** *ῥῆσις* is used especially of 'a long speech' out of a play. Cp. Arist. *Nub.* 1371, *Ran.* 151, *Vesp.* 580, Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 268 C, *Rep.* X c. 7, Dem. *de cor.* § 267, Aesch. *Timarch.* § 160, Theophr. *Char.* XV *ῥῆσιν εἰπεῖν,* XXVII *ῥήσεις μανθάνειν.*

15. **ἀπὸ στόματος,** 'from memory,' 'off-hand,' cp. *Them.* c. 6, 4, *Mar.* c. 29, 4 *ἀπὸ φωνῆς,* Xen. *Mem.* III vi 9, *Symp.* c. 3, 5, Plat. *Theaet.* p. 142 D, *ἀπὸ γλώσσης* Thuc. VII 10, 1.

16. **μεταλαβόντα,** 'taking up (the discourse) after him,' 'in turn.' Cp. Polyb. 10, 38, 1 *ἐπεὶ κατέπαυσαν τὸν λόγον, μεταλαβὼν ὁ Πόπλιος,* 18, 37 (54), 5 *ῥηθέντων τούτων μεταλαβών,* 20, 10, 3 *ὁ δὲ Μανίας μεταλαβών φησι.* Wyttenbach's explanation, *aliter pronuntiantem,* is probably incorrect.

οὕτω πλάσαι...ἐν ἤθει πρέποντι καὶ (πρεπούσῃ) διαθέσει, 'so transformed the same piece by his recitation of it in a suitable character,' (i.e. one appropriate to the personage and the situation) and by propriety of action and delivery (modulation and inflexion of voice) that etc. See Gr. Ind. *s.v.* *διάθεσις.*

19. **πεισθέντα δὲ κτέ.,** 'after he (Dem.) had been brought to see, how much additional grace and dignity is given to speech by action' i.e. by gesture and delivery. Cp. c. 11, 3 and the anecdote in *vit. X orr.* 845 B *ἐρομένου τινος αὐτόν, τί πρῶτον ἐν ῥητορικῇ, εἶπεν 'Ὑπόκρισις', καὶ τί δεύτερον, 'Ὑπόκρισις', καὶ τί τρίτον, 'Ὑπόκρισις'.* Cicero also (*Cic.* c. 5, 2), *οὐδὲν ἧττον νοσήσας τοῦ*

Δημοσθένους πρὸς τὴν ὑπόκρισιν, placed himself under the tuition of Roscius the comic actor and Aesopus the tragic actor. Cp. Cic. *de or.* 3, 56, 213, *Brut.* 38, 142, Quintil. *inst. or.* XI 3, 5 f.

21. καὶ τὸ μηδέν, 'or rather good for naught.' Cp. *Fab.* c. 5, 2, *Lys.-Sull.* c. 2, 2 *φαύλους καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ὄντας*, *Ant.* c. 75, 2 *σκελετὸς καὶ τὸ μηδὲν γενόμενος.* **ἀμελοῦντι τῆς προφορᾶς καὶ διαθέσεως τῶν λεγομένων,** 'if a man is inattentive to the pronunciation (c. 11, 2) and delivery of what he has to say.' For *προφορά*, cp. *Mor.* 41 A.

§ **3.** l. **23. μελετητήριον,** 'a place for practice,' a word formed after the analogy of *φροντιστήριον* (Ar. *Nub.* 128), *δικαστήριον, ἐργαστήριον, βουλευτήριον, πωλητήριον, δεσμωτήριον.* [Lucian] *Dem. encom.* § 14 *ἔρωτι δὴ πάντα πόριμα, κουρὰ σπήλαιον κάτοπτρον* (c. 11, 2), *ξίφος, γλῶτταν διαρθρῶσαι* (c. 11, 1), *μετελθεῖν ὀψὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ὑπόκρισιν, μνήμην ἀκριβῶσαι, θορύβου καταφρονῆσαι, συνάψαι* (c. 11, 3) *νύκτας ἐπιπόνοις ἡμέραις.*

24. ὃ δὴ διεσῴζετο καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς, 'which, as a matter of fact, was preserved intact even in my time.' Cf. c. 11, 4; c. 13, 5; *Lycurg.* c. 21, 3 *ποιήμασιν ὧν ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔνια διεσῴζετο.* The underground chamber of Dem. has disappeared entirely since the time of Plutarch. An erroneous tradition indeed identifies with it an elegant circular structure, commonly called 'the Lantern of Demosthenes,' but this is really the choragic monument which was set up by Lysicrates in B.C. 335.

25. ἐνταῦθα δὲ πάντως μέν: The order is *ἐνταῦθα δὲ πλάττειν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ διαπονεῖν τὴν φωνήν, κατιόντα πάντως μὲν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας, πολλάκις δέ* etc.

27. διαπονεῖν τὴν φωνήν: c. 5, 3; c. 6, 2.

28. μῆνας...συνάπτειν ξυρούμενον...μέρος, 'spent two or three months at a time (consecutively), shaving (only) one half of his head.'

29. ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲ βουλομένῳ...δι' αἰσχύνην, 'on purpose that it might not be possible for him to go abroad, even if he wished to do so, for shame (of being seen in such a plight).' Cp. *vit. X orr.* 844 E *λέγουσι δ' αὐτὸν ἔτι νέον ὄντα εἰς σπήλαιον ἀπιέναι κἀκεῖ φιλολογεῖν τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς κεφαλῆς ξυράμενον, ἵνα μὴ προέρχοιτο,* Zosim. l. 48.

On the use of *ὑπέρ* with the articular infinitive exclusively to express purpose, 'with a view to,' see my note to Xen. *Hier.* c. 4, 3. Thuc. generally employs *τοῦ μή*, Demosthenes *ἕνεκα τοῦ* or *ἐπὶ τῷ* but also *ὑπὲρ τοῦ* as *de cor.* § 204, Plato and Xenophon *ἕνεκα τοῦ.* For *προελθεῖν*, *prodire in publicum*, cp. *Cat. mi.* c. 59, 1.

CHAPTER VIII

9 § **1.** l. **1. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά,** *verum tamen*, 'not but that,' c. 18, 1. **τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ἐντεύξεις,** 'his interviews with strangers.'

Cp. *Them.* c. 26, 3 with note, *Pelop.* c. 28, 3 διεκώλυσεν ἐντυγχάνειν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐκτός, *Fab.* c. 1, 3 τὸ εὔκολον (αὐτοῦ) πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις νωθρότητός τινος ὑπόνοιαν εἶχε παρὰ τοῖς ἐκτός, *Cic.* c. 32, 5 ἂν μή τις εὖ μάλα φυλαττόμενος οὕτω συμφέρηται τοῖς ἐκτός, *Per.* c. 7, 4 τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐδὲν οὕτω θαυμάσιον τοῖς ἐκτὸς ('the outside world') ὡς ὁ καθ' ἡμέραν βίος τοῖς συνοῦσιν.

3. **ἀσχολίας**, *negotia*, 'business transactions.' **ὑποθέσεις ἐποιεῖτο**, 'he would (afterwards) take as ground-work,' 'subjects to work upon.'

4. **ἀπαλλαγεὶς αὐτῶν τάχιστα**, 'as soon as ever he had parted from, got rid of, them.' Cp. c. 25, 3.

6. **διεξῄει τὰς πράξεις κτέ.**, 'repeated from beginning to end the matters in order as they passed and the reasons alleged in detail for and against them.' For ὑπέρ=περί, see Gr. Ind. *s.v.*

§ **2.** l. 7. **οἷς παρέτυχε**, c. 5, 2.

8. **ἀναλαμβάνων πρὸς ἑαυτόν**, 'going over again with himself.' Cp. Plat. *Timae.* 26 A πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν πάντα ἀναλαβόντα λέγειν οὕτως, *Hipp. ma.* 288 A πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἀναλάβω ὃ λέγεις, Plut. *Them.* c. 2, 1 λόγους τινας μελετῶν καὶ συνταττόμενος πρὸς ἑαυτόν, *Phoc.* c. 5, 3 αὐτὸν ὄντα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τὴν διάνοιαν, *Dion* c. 55, 1 μόνος ὢν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τὴν διάνοιαν, Ar. *Ran.* 53 ἀναγιγνώσκοντι τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν πρὸς ἐμαυτόν. **εἰς γνώμας ἀνῆγε καὶ περιόδους**, 'he used to reduce into regular sentences and periods.'

10. **μεταφράσεις ἐκαινοτόμει**, 'he would invent new modes of expression, paraphrases.' καινοτομεῖν is properly a mining term, signifying 'to make a fresh cut,' 'open a new vein,' hence 'to make anew;' cp. *Them.* c. 3, 2, 11. **πάλιν**, 'contrariwise.'

12. **ἐκ τούτου**, *propter hoc.* **δόξαν ἔσχεν**=ἔδοξε, ingressive aorist. Cp. *Thes.* c. 3, 2 δόξαν μάλιστα πάντων ὡς ἀνὴρ λόγιος ἐν τοῖς τότε καὶ σοφώτατος ἔσχεν, c. 2, 1 δόξαν ἔσχεν ἐκ θεῶν γεγονέναι. See n. to c. 7, 1 and cp. c. 10, 3 πίστιν ἔχοντος. **εὐφυής**, 'having a natural gift (for speaking).' Acc. to Suidas *s.v.* Δημοσθένης (1 p. 165, 393 Bernhardy), the statement came from Hermippus. See *Addenda.*

13. **ἐκ πόνου συγκειμένῃ**, 'composed of, acquired by dint of, toil.' **δεινότητι**, 'oratorical skill,' c. 6, 2; c. 20, 3.

§ **3.** l. **14.** Of the two infinitives, which combined form the subject of ἐδόκει, the first (τὸ μὴ ἀκοῦσαι) has itself τινά for its subject and the second (μὴ παρελθεῖν) has Δημοσθένη.

16. **μὴ ῥᾳδίως**, *non temere*, with λέγοντος. **ἐπὶ καιροῦ**, *ex tempore*, 'on the spur of the moment.' Cp. l. 35 ἐκ προχείρου, c. 9, 3 ἐκ τοῦ παρισταμένου.

18. **παρελθεῖν**, c. 6, 1; c. 18, 1; *Them.* c. 4; 1 note.

19. **παρεσκευασμένος**: Dem. was not ashamed of preparing his speeches, but rather makes it his boast that they were ἐσκεμμένα καὶ παρεσκευασμένα (*or. de symm.* § 14, *Mid.* § 191). Cp. *vit. X orr.* 848 B ὀνειδίσαντος δ' αὐτὸν Ἐπικλέους, ὅτι ἀεὶ σκέπτοιτο,

'*Αἰσχυνοίμην γὰρ <ἂν>' εἶπεν 'εἰ τηλικούτῳ δήμῳ συμβουλεύων αὐτοσχεδιάζοιμι.*' Aeschines *de f. l.* § 35 taunts him with the sorry figure he cut in the presence of King Philip when *ἐκπίπτει ἐκ τοῦ λόγου... ὡς δ' ἅπαξ ἐταράχθη καὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων διεσφάλη, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἠδυνήθη*, and again § 55 *οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εἰπεῖν δύναται ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς συσσίτους καὶ ὁμοσπόνδους μελετᾷ.* **εἰς τοῦτο**, c. 1, 1 note.

20. ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ ... καὶ Πυθέας, 'Pytheas among many others.' See note to c. 14, 4.

Pytheas was an Athenian orator, a determined opponent of Dem. He was an uneducated man of no political principles, and frankly confessed that he *ἐλάχιστον χρόνον τῶν πεπολιτευμένων Ἀθήνησι γενέσθαι κακός* (Aelian *var. hist.* XIV 28). Yet he obtained high distinction at Athens and was entrusted with the honourable duty of offering the sacrifices at Delphi for his countrymen. When he was very young, he opposed the bestowal of divine honours on Alexander (*Mor.* 187 E, 784 C, 804 B), but he became a staunch supporter of the Macedonian party, and, on the outbreak of the Lamian war, fled from Athens and joined Antipater, and was one of his most active emissaries (c. 27, 2). As a speaker, he amused the people by his occasional flashes of wit, but he was *λάλος καὶ θρασύς* (*Phoc.* c. 21, 1), *τραχὺς καὶ διεσπασμένος* (Suidas *s. v.* Πυθέας), and not thought worthy by the grammarians to be included among the ten orators. The names of two of his speeches are preserved by Harpocration and two short extracts from them are quoted in a Latin translation by Rutilius Lupus *de fig. sent. et eloc.* I c. 11, c. 14. The former of these two fragments is probably from his Speech against Demosthenes for taking bribes from Harpalus (*vit. X orr.* 846 C).

22. ἐλλυχνίων ὄζειν, 'smelt of lamp-wicks.' *ὄζειν* and other verbs of smelling may be used either (*a*) personally or (*b*) impersonally with the genitive of the smell, as (*a*) *ὄζουσι πίττης* Ar. *Ach.* 190, *μίλακος ὄζων* *Nub.* 1007, (*b*) *ὑμῖν δι' ἔτους τῶν ἱματίων ὀζήσει δεξιότητος* (where *ἱματίων* is not the genitive of the part, but of the thing which smells). The genitive of the part which smells is sometimes added, as *εἰ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὄζω μύρου* *Eccl.* 524, *ὄζειν τε τῆς χρόας ἔφασκεν ἡδύ μου* *Plut.* 1020, where the accusative singular of the adjective is used to denote the character of the smell, as Ar. *Eq.* 892 *βύρσης κάκιστον ὄζων.*

The story here told is thus given by Libanius 79—82: *Πυθέας σκώπτων ἔφη τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Δημοσθένους λύχνων ἀπόζειν· πρὸς ὃν ὁ Δημοσθένης ἀστείως ἅμα καὶ πικρῶς 'Οἶδα' εἶπεν 'ὅτι σε λυπῶ λύχνον καίων', διεβέβλητο γὰρ ὡς λωποδυτῶν νύκτωρ ὁ Πυθέας*, and by Aelian *var. hist.* VII 7 *Δημοσθένης ὁ Δημοσθένους εἰ ἔμελλε τῆς ὑστεραίας ἔσεσθαι ἐκκλησία ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνός γε διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἠγρύπνει πάσης, διαφροντίζων δηλονότι καὶ ἐκμανθάνων ταῦτα ἃ ἔμελλεν ἐρεῖν· ὁ τοίνυν Πυθέας ἐκ τούτων ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐπέσκωπτεν ἐς αὐτόν, ἐπιλέγων αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα ἐλλυχνίων ὄζειν.* Cp. [Lucian] *Dem. encom.* c. 15 *Πυθέᾳ δὲ ὁ κρότος τῶν Δημοσθενικῶν λόγων ἀπόζειν ἐφαίνετο τοῦ νυκτερινοῦ λύχνου*, Plut. *Comp. Demosth.-Cic.* c. 1, 3 *ὁ μὲν Δημοσθενικὸς (λόγος) ἔξω παντὸς ὡραϊσμοῦ καὶ παιδιᾶς εἰς δεινότητα καὶ σπουδὴν συνηγμένος οὐκ ἐλλυχνίων ὄδωδεν, ὥσπερ ὁ Πυθέας ἔσκωπτεν, ἀλλ' ὑδροποσίας καὶ φροντίδων καὶ τῆς λεγομένης πικρίας τοῦ τρόπου καὶ στυγνότητος*, *Mor.* 802 E *μήτ' αὖ πάλιν (ὁ λόγος ἔστω) ὡς ὁ Πυθέας τὸν Δημοσθένους ἔλεγεν, ἐλλυχνίων ὄζων καὶ σοφιστικῆς περιεργίας, ἐνθυμήμασι πικροῖς καὶ περιόδοις πρὸς κανόνα καὶ διαβήτην ἀπηκριβωμένοις.*

§ **4.** l. **24.** **οὐ ταὐτὰ...σύνοιδεν**, 'the lamp is not privy to the same practices in my case as in yours.' The retort was of course aimed at the loose life led by Pytheas. See *Addenda*.

26. Construe *ἀλλ' ὡμολόγει λέγειν οὔτε γράψας οὔτε κομιδῇ* (*omnino*) *ἄγραφα*. Observe that the instrumental and timeless aorist participle (*γράψας*, for which *γεγραμμένα* might have been written) is opposed to the neuter plural adjective (*ἄγραφα*). On this use of the aor. participle, see *Class. Rev.* Vol. V 1891, pp. 3 ff, pp. 248 f.

27. **καὶ μέντοι** introduces some additional fact that is to be noted, and differs from *καὶ δέ* only in that the *μέντοι* is stronger than the *δέ*, and that the two particles are not necessarily separated by the intervention of other words.

28. **δημοτικὸν...τὸν λέγειν μελετῶντα**, 'he declared that the man who takes pains to prepare his speeches is a man of the people or of democratic temper.'

29. The construing order is (*ἀπέφαινε*) *γὰρ τοῦτο εἶναι παρασκευὴν θεραπείας δήμου*; the meaning, as Koraes paraphrases it, *τοῦτο* (*sc. τὸ μελετᾶν λέγειν*) *εἶναι ῥήτορος παρασκευαζομένου ὅπως θεραπεύσει τὸν δῆμον*.

30. **τὸ δ' ὅπως...ἀφροντιστεῖν**, 'not to concern oneself how the people will be disposed towards (in what part they will take) one's speech.' Cp. c. 20, 1.

32. **προσέχοντος** *sc. τὸν νοῦν*, 'one who gives heed to.' See note to c. 20, 4. For the predicative gen. of nature, habit after *εἶναι*, see HA. *Gr.* § 732 c. 10

§ **5.** l. **33.** **πρὸς καιρόν**, for *πρὸς τὸ ἐπὶ καιροῦ* (l. 18) *λέγειν*, 'for improvised speaking,' l. 16.

34. **ποιοῦνται**, 'they consider,' c. 13, 5; c. 22. 2. **Δημάδης**, c. 7, 1. **μέν**, 'while' (parataxis), c. 9, 3.

35. **θορυβηθέντι**, 'when he was assailed with clamours of disapproval' by the assembly. Cp. Soph. *Ai.* 194 *ὑπὸ τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν θορυβεῖ*, Thuc. VIII c. 50, 5; c. 93, 1. But in Isocr. *Panath.* § 233 *τεθορυβημένος* means 'received with shouts of applause.' **ἐκ προχείρου**, 'off-hand,' cp. l. 16; c. 9, 3 and see *Addenda*.

CHAPTER IX

§ **1.** l. **1.** **πόθεν**, *unde*, 'for what reason?' 'how came it that?' Cp. *ὅθεν* c. 1, 3; c. 5, 3. **ὁ Αἰσχίνης**: see n. to c. 4, 1.

3. **ἀποκαλεῖ**, 'calls contemptuously.' Cp. l. 33, c. 23, 2, c. 29, 4, *Ti. Gr.* c. 21, 3 with my note *ad l.* **τὸν ἄνδρα**, for *αὐτόν*, as c. 3, 4; c. 23, 5. The words of Aeschines are (*Ctes.* § 152) *ὦ πρὸς μὲν τὰ μεγάλα καὶ σπουδαῖα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀχρηστότατε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τόλμαν θαυμασιώτατε.*

πῶς δὲ...ἀντεῖπεν, 'how came he to refute?' This is a quotation from the speech of Demosthenes *de cor.* § 136—a passage often referred to by ancient writers, as by [Lucian] *Enc. Dem.* c. 5, and Plin. *Ep.* IX 26, 9—*ὅτε γὰρ Πύθωνα Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε τὸν Βυζάντιον καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὑτοῦ συμμάχων πάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὡς ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικοῦσαν, τότ' ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν οὐκ εἶξα οὐδ' ὑπεχώρησ' ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἀντεῖπον καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως οὐχὶ προὔδωκα δίκαια, ἀλλ' ἀδικοῦντ' ἐξήλεγξα Φίλιππον φανερῶς οὕτως, ὥστε τοὺς ἐκείνου συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους ὁμολογεῖν.* The mission referred to here and also in the speech of Hegesippus *on Halonnesus* took place in B.C. 343. It was an attempt on the part of Philip to give fresh strength to the party at Athens who were favorable to him and to peace. At its head was Python of Byzantium—probably identical with Python of Oenus, who with his brother Heracleides murdered Cotys, king of Thrace, in revenge for the murder of their father (Dem. *c. Aristocr.* § 119, § 127) and became afterwards a naturalised citizen of Byzantium. He was brought up in the school of Isocrates and was, according to Aeschines (*de f. leg.* § 125), *ἄνθρωπος περὶ τὸ γράψαι λόγους μέγα φρονῶν.* Hegesippus also (§ 20, cp. § 23) says that his speech at Athens was well received (*ηὐδοκίμησεν*). Python threw the whole blame on the Athenians themselves for their unfriendly attitude under the influence of the orators of the war party, and assured them that his royal master was animated with the best intentions towards them and preferred their friendship to that of any of the Greeks. Cp. the outline of his speech given by Hegesippus § 21 f. The Athenians—true to the character given of them by Demosth. *Prooem* 46, 5 *δεινότατοι πάντων ὑμεῖς ἐστ' ἀκούειν ὅ τι ἄν τις καθ' ὑμῶν λέγῃ*—lent a willing ear to his insidious suggestions.

4. **θρασυνομένῳ**, 'blustering.' 5. **ῥέοντι πολλῷ**, 'pouring forth a flood of abuse.'

For the predicate adjective instead of adverb, see HA. *Gr.* § 619 and cp. *Nic.* c. 9, 1 *ἡ Ἀλκιβιάδου φύσις ἐπ' ἀμφότερα πολλὴ ῥυεῖσα*, *Alcib.* c. 21, 5 (*ὁ δῆμος*) *πρὸς τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ὅλος ἐρρύη*, Eur. *Hipp.* 443 *Κυπρὶς γὰρ οὐ φορητός, ἢν πολλὴ ῥυῇ*, Aesch. *Sc. Th.* 80 *ῥεῖ πολὺς ὅδε λεώς*, with other verbs also, as Arist. *Eq.* 760 *ὅπως ἔξει πολὺς καὶ λαμπρὸς ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα.* So Hor. *Sat.* I 7, 28 *salso multoque fluenti...regerit convicia.*

6. **μόνος**: this is an addition of Plutarch's own, perhaps borrowed from the second letter of Demosthenes p. 1469 *μόνου τῶν τότε ῥητόρων ἐξετάσαντος ἐμοῦ τὰ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν δίκαια.*

7. **τοῦ Μυριναίου**, 'of Myrina,' an Aeolian city on the western coast of Asia Minor, also called Smyrna, hence the reading of **N** and **E** *Σμυρναίου*. In the *vit. X orr.* 845 C, quoted l. 10 below, he is called *Τερειναίου*, 'of Terina,' the colony of Croton on the W. coast of the Bruttian peninsula. See A. Schäfer III 318 n. 1.

§ **2.** l. **10.** **Ὀλυμπίασι**: c. 1, 1. The occasion on which Demosthenes visited Olympia was in July B.C. 324, Ol. 114, 1, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus XVIII 8, when Nicanor of Stagira

was despatched by Alexander to proclaim at the games his decree for the restoration of the exiles throughout the Greek cities, and Demosthenes was sent from Athens as *ἀρχιθέωρος*. The incident is referred to by Hypereides *c. Dem.* 16 (15) p. 10 ed. Blass, and by Dinarch. *c. Dem.* § 81 where that orator taunts Dem. with having travelled only twice in his life from Athens, once when he made his escape after the battle of Chaeronea, *καὶ νῦν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν, ἐπεὶ Νικάνορι διὰ τῆς ἀρχιθεωρίας ἐντυχεῖν ἐβούλετο* and § 82 *ἐπειδὴ— τοὺς φυγάδας Ἀλέξανδρον ἔφασαν κατάγειν καὶ Νικάνωρ εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἧκεν, ἀρχιθέωρον αὐτὸν ἐπέδωκε τῇ βουλῇ.* See A. Schäfer III p. 315. **παραναστάς**, 'rising up by his side.' See cr. n. **μεθ' ἱστορίας καὶ ἀποδείξεως**, 'with a detailed statement of facts, supported by proofs.' Cp. *vit. X orr.* 845 B:—*γενόμενος δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμπιακῇ πανηγύρει καὶ ἀκούσας Λαμάχου τοῦ Τερειναίου Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐγκώμιον ἀναγινώσκοντος, Θηβαίων δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπίων κατατρέχοντος, παραναστὰς ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν μαρτυρίας προηνέγκατο περὶ τῶν Θηβαίοις καὶ Ὀλυνθίοις καλῶς πραχθέντων, ὡς παύσασθαί τε τὸ λοιπὸν τὸν Λάμαχον καὶ φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς πανηγύρεως.*

For *μετ' ἀποδείξεως*, cp. Polyb. 3, 1, 3 where the writer proposes *μετ' ἀποδείξεως ἐξαγγέλλειν* (i.e. in the main body of his history, the events which he had already glanced at in his two Introductory Books); 10, 24 (21), 3 *τὰς διαθέσεις καὶ περιστάσεις μετ' ἀποδείξεως ἀπαγγέλλειν* and § 8 where he contrasts *τὸν μετ' ἀποδείξεως ἀπολογισμόν* with *τὸν κεφαλαιώδη*, 18, 16 (33), 6 *τὰς ἐν ταύτῃ πράξεις μετ' ἀποδείξεως ἐξηγησάμεθα*, which he had expressed before by *πότε καὶ διὰ τί καὶ πῶς ἐγένετο*, Plut. *Mor.* 145 B where *τὰ μετ' ἀποδείξεως καὶ κατασκευῆς λεγόμενα* are opposed to popular precepts.

11. Χαλκιδεῦσιν, not, as Dübner, 'the inhabitants of Chalcis,' but those of Chalcidice. **καλά** *sc. πραχθέντα.*

12. πάλιν, *contra.*

14. ἐπέστρεψε, 'brought to his own way of thinking,' 'impressed.' Cp. *Alc.* c. 16, 6 *ἐνίους δὲ καὶ πάνυ τὸ λεχθὲν ἐπέστρεφεν*, *Crass.* c. 10, 3 *οὕτω δ' ἐπιστρέψας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολλούς.* **δείσαντα τῷ θορύβῳ**, 'alarmed because of the uproar.' For the construction, cp. Isocr. *Paneg.* § 147 *ἀπορήσας τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν.*

§ **3.** l. **16. ὁ ἀνήρ** *sc.* Demosthenes, c. 9, 1. **τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καλά**, 'the other grand qualities' of Pericles, irrespectively of his oratorical powers. The sentence being logically subordinate to the following, *μέν* should be translated 'while;' cp. c. 8, 5.

17. μὴ πρὸς αὐτόν *sc. εἶναι*, *non ad se pertinere.* For *μή* after *ἔοικε*, see Gr. Ind. *s. v.* **τὸ πλάσμα**, not, as Liddell-Scott, 'affectation,' but 'modulation.' Cp. *Per.* c. 5, 1 *πλάσμα φωνῆς ἀθόρυβον*, *Mor.* 711 C where, in speaking of boys reciting the dramatic dialogues of Plato, he says *πρόσεστι δ' ὑπόκρισις πρέπουσα τῷ ἤθει τῶν ὑποκειμένων προσώπων καὶ φωνῆς πλάσμα καὶ σχῆμα καὶ διαθέσεις ἑπόμεναι τοῖς λεγομένοις*, *ib.* 405 D.

18. *σχηματισμός* is variously interpreted by lexicographers and commentators, by Liddell-Scott 'deportment,' by Amyot 'sa contenance reposée,' by

the Langhornes 'delivery,' by Clough 'reserve and sustained manner,' by Ricard 'declamation,' by Kaltwasser 'der Action,' by Campe 'Gliederung seines Ausdruckes,' by Rost-Palm 'Verstellung' i.e. 'dissimulation' cl. *Mor.* 645 B ὁ γὰρ οἶνος ἡμᾶς ἀνοίγει...ἀφαιρῶν τὸ πλάσμα καὶ τὸν σχηματισμόν, perhaps misled by *Nic.* c. 3, 1 Περικλῆς μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ ἀρετῆς ἀληθινῆς τὴν πόλιν ἄγων οὐδενὸς ἐδεῖτο σχηματισμοῦ πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον, where, however, the word really means, as Ernesti interprets it, *artificiosa orationis conformatio.*

19. τὸ μὴ ταχέως μηδὲ περὶ παντὸς ἐκ τοῦ παρισταμένου λέγειν, 'his not being in a hurry to speak, nor speaking off-hand on any casual subject.' See *Addenda.*

For ἐκ τοῦ παρισταμένου, 'according to what suggests itself' (c. 13, 1), 'on the inspiration of the moment,' cp. *Mor.* 639 D ὡς οὐ κατὰ τύχην ἐκ τοῦ παρισταμένου τῇ τάξει χρώμενος ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, *Dion* c. 5, 4 τὴν παρρησίαν ἔφερεν αὐτοῦ (Dionysius Dionis) μόνου σχεδὸν ἀδεῶς λέγοντος τὸ παριστάμενον, Lucian *Cont.* c. 13 τὸ παριστάμενον ἐλευθέρως λέγων and see above c. 8, 3, 5.

20. ὥσπερ...γεγονότος, 'as if he (Pericles) had owed his greatness to these.' G. *MT.* § 867.

21. οὐ πάνυ προσίεσθαι τὴν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ δόξαν κτέ., 'did not care at all for momentary glory nor, if he could possibly help it (G. *MT.* § 780), did he let his faculty lie at the mercy of accident.'

For the construction of προσίεσθαι, see my n. to *Timol.* c. 1, 2, and for ἐπὶ τύχῃ ποιεῖσθαι, cp. *Them.* c. 20, 2 ἐπὶ ταῖς μεγίσταις δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶ πόλεσι ἔσται τὸ συνέδριον, Antiph. *de caede Her.* § 3 ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν κατηγόρων λόγοις εἶναι, Thuc. IV 29, 4, VII 12, 3 αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις ἐπ' ἐκείνοις.

§ **4.** l. **24.** **ἐπεί...γε,** 'however,' as in c. 14, 2. The train of thought seems to be as follows:—How came Dem. to be pronounced by Aeschines an amazingly bold speaker? The answer is: He was so really; but, like Pericles, he reserved himself for extraordinary emergencies, and did not care for any credit to be got from speaking *in promptu* on any subject and any occasion. For his boldness and self-confidence appear more in his unprepared orations than in those which he committed to writing. On Eratosthenes and Demetrius Phalereus see *Introduction.*

11 Timocles, the comic poet, in his Ἥρωες *fr.* 1 (*FCG* Mein. III p. 598, Kock II p. 457) playfully alludes to the vehemence of his style:—

B. καὶ πρῶτα μέν σοι παύσεται Δημοσθένης
ὀργιζόμενος. A. ὁ ποῖος; B. ὁποῖος; ὁ Βριάρεως,
ὁ τοὺς καταπέλτας τάς τε λόγχας ἐσθίων,
μισῶν λόγους ἄνθρωπος, οὐδὲ πώποτε
ἀντίθετον εἰπὼν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' Ἄρη βλέπων.

(where the last two lines are, of course, said ironically);
and again (*fr. inc.* 4 Mein. III p. 613, *fr.* 38 Kock p. 466) in reference to his oath

μὰ γῆν, μὰ κρήνας, μὰ ποταμούς, μὰ νάματα.

29. γεγονέναι παράβακχον, 'behaved as one beside himself with excitement.' **30. ἐκεῖνον,** 'that well-known.'

31. ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶντα, 'as if he were possessed, inspired by some god,' Xen. *Cyr.* I iv 8.

32. μὰ γῆν κτέ.: cp. *vit. X orr.* 845 B προελθὼν δὲ (Demosthenes) πάλιν εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας νεωτερικῶς τινα λέγων διεσύρετο· ὡς κωμῳδηθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπ' Ἀντιφάνους καὶ Τιμοκλέους· Μὰ γῆν κτλ.· ὀμόσας δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ θόρυβον ἐκίνησεν. In the Δῆλος (or Δήλιος) of Timocles (Mein. III p. 591, Kock II p. 452) Demosth. is indirectly included among τοὺς παρὰ Ἁρπάλου δωροδοκήσαντας (cp. c. 23, 3 note):—

A. Δημοσθένης τάλαντα πεντήκοντ' ἔχει.
B. μακάριος, εἴπερ μεταδίδωσι μηδενί.

§ **5.** l. **33.** **κωμικός** for κωμῳδικός. **ἀποκαλεῖ**, l. 3.

ῥωποπερπερήθραν is taken by Rost-Palm and also by Pape as the acc. of ῥωποπερπερήθρας (masc.), 'a dealer in frivolous bombast,' from ῥῶπος, 'petty or tawdry wares' and πέρπερος, 'vain-glorious.'

There is, however, a difficulty about the word. In Diogenes Laertius II 10, (108) we read τῆς δ' Εὐκλείδου διαδοχῆς ἐστι καὶ Εὐβουλίδης ὁ Μιλήσιος...περὶ τούτου φησί τις τῶν κωμικῶν (*FCG* Mein. IV 619, Kock III 461)· 'οὑριστικὸς δ' Εὐβουλίδης ὁ κερατίνας ἐρωτῶν Καὶ ψευδαλαζόσιν λόγοις τοὺς ῥήτορας κυρίττων (κυλίων) Ἐπῆλθ' ἔχων Δημοσθένους τὴν ῥωποστωμυλήθραν,' 'a charlatan's gabble,' where Suidas quotes ῥομβοστωμυλήθραν, *tolutiloquentiam*; but, as neither of these words satisfy the metre, Meineke, followed by Cobet and Kock, boldly substitutes ῥωποπερπερήθραν from Plutarch. If such conjectural restoration be accepted, Plut. must be supposed to have misunderstood, at any rate misquoted, the original, where the word is applied to the style of Demosth., not to himself. Eustathius also (927, 56) seems to have been misled in the same way about the meaning: ἐκ τούτου (τοῦ ῥώπου) καὶ ῥωποπερπερήθρα τις προσερρήθη ἐπὶ χυδαιότητι καὶ φλυαρίᾳ σκωπτόμενος. On the other hand Fritzsche (Arist. *Ran.* p. 300, 1) considers that the reading Δημοσθένους τὴν ῥωποπερπερήθραν requires correction and that the original reading, which Plutarch found, was τὸν ῥωποπερπερήθραν, 'the dealer in petty bombast.' The word πέρπερος, 'presumptuous,' belongs to late Greek. It occurs twice in Polybius:—32, 6, 5 γραμματικὸς...φύσει ὢν λάλος καὶ πέρπερος καὶ κατακορής, and 39, 12, 2 (of Aulus Postumius) κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν στωμύλος καὶ λάλος καὶ πέρπερος διαφερόντως. Hence the verb περπερεύεσθαι, 'to show off,' used by St Paul *I Cor.* XIII 4, and Marc. Anton. c. 5, 5, and its compound ἐμπερπερεύεσθαι Cic. *Ep. ad Att.* I 14, 4 *Ego autem ipse, dei boni! quo modo* ἐνεπερπερευσάμην *auditori Pompeio!* Περπερήθρα is formed like στωμυλήθρα, 'persiflage,' ἀλινδήθρα Arist. *Ran.* 904, δακτυλήθρα Xen. *Cyr.* VIII viii 17. [Longinus] *de subl.* 3, 4 tells us what τὸ ῥωπικόν means in oratory:—ὀλισθαίνουσι...ὀρεγόμενοι μὲν τοῦ περιττοῦ καὶ πεποιημένου καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ ἡδέος, ἐξοκέλλοντες δὲ εἰς <τὸ> ῥωπικὸν (i.e. 'claptrap') καὶ κακόζηλον. Cp. *Mor.* 495 D πανταχοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἀκριβὴς καὶ φιλότεχνος καὶ ἀνελλιπὴς καὶ ἀπερίτμητος, οὐδέν, ὡς ἔφησεν Ἐρασίστρατος, ἔχουσα ῥωπικόν.

34. ὁ δέ *sc.* Antiphanes (c. 4, 4), in the lost comedy Νεοττίς, 'Nestling.' Athenaeus VI p. 223 E Δημοσθένης Φιλίππου Ἀθηναίοις Ἁλόννησον διδόντος συνεβούλευε μὴ λαμβάνειν εἰ δίδωσιν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδίδωσιν, ὅπερ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Νεοττίδι (Mein. III p. 92, Kock II p. 80) παιδιὰν θέμενος ἐρεσχήλει τόνδε τὸν τρόπον:—

A. ὁ δεσπότης δὲ πάντα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς
ἀπέλαβεν, οὐ παρέλαβεν. B. ἠγάπησέ γ' ἂν
τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο παραλαβὼν Δημοσθένης.

He is also ridiculed for the expression by Alexis in the *Στρατιώτης* (Mein. III 478, Kock III 373) and the *Ἀδελφοί* (Mein. III 385, Kock II 299, Athenae. VI 223 E), by Anaxilas in the *Εὐανδρία* (Mein. III 343, Kock II 265, Athenae. VI 224 A) and by Timocles in the *Ἥρωες*. **παρασκώπτων**, *obiter cavillans*, 'sneering at indirectly.'

Cp. *Cat. mi.* c. 21, 5 *χλευάζων καὶ παρασκώπτων*, *Cic.* c. 38, 2 *τοῦ παρασκώπτειν τε καὶ λέγειν χαρίεν εἰς τοὺς συμμάχους οὐκ ἀπεχόμενος*, c. 41, 4 *χαριέντως τὴν οἰκουρίαν ὡς ἀπράκτου καὶ ἀστρατεύτου παρασκώπτων τοῦ Κικέρωνος*, *Demetr.* c. 28, 4 *τῷ παρασκῶψαι τε καὶ γελοῖον εἰπεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ἐν χερσὶν ὄντων ἐπιδειξάμενος εὐστάθειαν καὶ καταφρόνησιν.*

ὡς χρώμενον τῷ ἀντιθέτῳ: see end of note to l. 24.

38. ἐκτὸς εἰ μή, *nisi si*, 'save and except,' 'unless indeed.'

Cp. Lucian *de luctu* c. 19 *ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ τὴν σποδὸν ἡμᾶς σιτεῖσθαι πεπιστεύκατε*, *nisi forte cinere nos vesci creditis*, *Pisc.* c. 6 *ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὸν Θάμυριν τὴν φύσιν*, Dio Chrys. *or.* 45 p. 213 II Rk *ἐκτὸς εἰ μή τις ἠρίθμει τὴν τῶν λῃστῶν δύναμιν*, Inscr. Aphrodis. (*CIG.* II p. 536 n. 2825) *ἄλλῳ δὲ οὐκ ἔξεσται τεθῆναι, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ αὐτός τινι συγχώρησιν δώσει.* So *χωρὶς ἂν μή Cam.* c. 41, 6.

39. πέπαιχεν, 'has intended this also as a playful allusion to the speech about Halonnesus.'

The Speech on Halonnesus, a small island in the Aegean sea, over against Thessaly, which became the subject of prolonged altercation for two or three years between Philip and the Athenians, though included in the Speeches of Dem., was not really written by him, but by his contemporary, Hegesippus of Sunium (Attica), a fiery patriot (Libanius *hypoth.*, Harpocration *s. v.*, Photius p. 491 a, 11). A saying of his is quoted by Plutarch in c. 17, 3 where see note. A good abstract of Hegesippus' speech is given by Curtius *Hist. Gr.* V 370 ff Eng. Tr.

40. μὴ λαμβάνειν ἀλλ' ἀπολαμβάνειν, 'not to take but to take back' i.e. not to accept it as a favour but to recover it as a right. Plut. appears here to be combining his recollection of the two following passages, but only imperfectly:—(1) [Dem.] *de Halon.* § 5 *δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὁποτέρῳ ἂν χρῆσθε, ὑμεῖς ἕξετε τὴν νῆσον, ἄν τε λάβητε ἄν τ' ἀπολάβητε* and (2) Aesch. *Ctes.* § 83 *Ἁλόννησον ἐδίδου· ὁ δ' ἀπηγόρευε μὴ λαμβάνειν, εἰ δίδωσιν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδίδωσι, περὶ συλλαβῶν διαφερόμενος* ('as if it were a controversy about syllables' i.e. a mere silly subtlety).

CHAPTER X

§ **1.** l. **1. πλήν**, 'to be sure,' serves to limit the judgment, which might be formed from what has been stated. **τῇ φύσει χρώμενον**, 'by the use of his natural talent (only).' Cp. c. 20, 1, *Them.* c. 2, 5 *τῇ φύσει καθ' αὑτὴν χρώμενος*. On Demades, see n. to c. 7, 1, c. 23, 5 and *Addenda*.

3. παραφέρειν, 'to excel.' Cp. [Lucian] *Charid.* c. 19 *ὡς τὰς ἄλλας ὁ πατὴρ οὐκ ὀλίγῳ τῷ μέσῳ τὴν παῖδα παρενεγκοῦσαν ἑώρα* (*τὴν παῖδα*), Aristid. *Panath.* I p. 127 *ὁ δὲ πάντας βασιλέας παρενεγκὼν ταῖς ἐπινοίαις.* **τὰς σκέψεις καὶ παρασκευάς**, 'meditations and preparations,' studied and prepared speeches. Cp. *Mor.* 844 E *πρὸς τὰς τῶν κυμάτων ἐμβολὰς τὰς σκέψεις ποιεῖσθαι*, 6 C *σκέψις οὐκ ἐᾷ τῆς ἱκνουμένης συμμετρίας τὸν λόγον ἐκπίπτειν.*

5. **Ἀρίστων ὁ Χῖος**: Ariston of Chios (ὁ Φάλανθος, 'bald-headed' and Σειρήν, as he was nicknamed) was an independent Stoic philosopher and teacher of Eratosthenes (Athenaeus VII 281 C). He flourished about B.C. 260. Many of his writings were attributed by Diogenes Laertius (VII 2 § 163), who gives a list of them, to his namesake of Ceos, the Peripatetic philosopher (*Them.* c. 3, 2). Cp. c. 30, 1.

Θεοφράστου: Tyrtamus, son of Melantes, of Eresus in Lesbos (Ael. *var. hist.* VIII 12, Athenaeus III 83 D, IX 387 B), the famous pupil of Aristotle, received from his master the name of Theophrastus *διὰ τὸ τῆς φράσεως θεσπέσιον.* He was born B.C. 372, and continued his peripatetic teaching at Athens in the Lyceum from B.C. 322, the date of Aristotle's death, until his own death in B.C. 287. Aristotle bequeathed his library to him. The writings of Theophrastus concerned all the staple branches of human knowledge of his time—philosophy, natural history, politics, history of public and private law, mathematics, rhetoric etc. Many historical records, which depend on the authority of Theophrastus, are given in this *Life* and elsewhere. In addition to two entire treatises on botany and fragments belonging to his different lost writings, we have the small collection of *ἠθικοὶ χαρακτῆρες* by him.

6. **περὶ τῶν ῥητόρων**, 'concerning the (two rival) speakers.'

7. **εἰπεῖν**: the inf. depends on *λέγεται* implied in what precedes (G. *MT.* § 787), or directly upon *ἱστόρηκε.*

9. **ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν**, 'above the state' i.e. more than the citizens can appreciate. Cp. Isocr. *Paneg.* § 11 *ἐπιτιμῶσι τῶν λόγων τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἔχουσι.*

§ **2.** l. **10.** **φιλόσοφος**: see cr. n. **ἱστορεῖ**, c. 4, 1.

Polyeuctus, of the Ath. deme *Σφηττός* in the phylê Acamantis, was an Attic orator, contemporary with Demosthenes, and of the same political party, viz. anti-Macedonian. It is uncertain whether the Polyeuctus who appears in Dem. *c. Mid.* § 139 is the same as he of Sphettos. A short fragment of an oration of his against Demades is preserved by Apsines *art. Rhet.* p. 708. Aristotle *Rhet.* III 10, 7 *f* quotes a saying of his. He was one of those whose extradition Alexander demanded B. C. 335 (c. 23, 3). Dinarchus *c. Dem.* § 103 taxes him with having taken bribes from Harpalus along with Demosthenes.

11. **Ἀθήνησιν**, c. 1, 1. **ἀποφαίνεσθαι**, c. 3, 1; c. 18, 4.

13. **δυνατώτατον εἰπεῖν**, c. 3, 1. From the two other passages of Plutarch (*Phoc.* c. 5, 2 and *Mor.* 803 E), where the same judgment is recorded, it would appear that the epithet employed by Polyeuctus himself was *δεινότατον.*

Φωκίωνα: Phocion, the Athenian general and statesman (B.C. 402—317), was a staunch opponent all his life of the anti-Macedonian party at Athens, and resisted every attempt that was made by bolder and more sanguine patriots to restore her indepen-

dence, despairing not merely of her but also for her. He acted as the tool of his country's enemies, as the servant of a foreign master; content to mitigate the pressure of the degrading yoke, which he had helped to impose. In one of the revolutions, by which Athens was convulsed after the death of Alexander, he was condemned to death by the people, and drank his hemlock at the age of 85. Plutarch has paralleled his *Life* with that of Cato the younger.

15. ἐκφέρειν, *pronuntiare*, 'gave expression to.' Cp. *Cato ma.* c. 12, 5 *ἃ αὐτὸς ἐξέφερε βραχέως*, *comp. Sol. et Public.* c. 1, 1 *ἣν ὁ Σόλων ἐξήνεγκε περὶ εὐδαιμονίας ἀπόφασιν*, *Per.* c. 4, 1 *οὗ φασι δεῖν τοὔνομα βραχύνοντας τὴν προτέραν συλλαβὴν ἐκφέρειν*. So *Phoc.* c. 5, 2 *ὁ Φωκίωνος λόγος πλεῖστον ἐν ἐλαχίστῃ λέξει νοῦν εἶχε.* **καὶ μέντοι**, c. 8, 4.

12 **16. ὁσάκις...ἀναβαίνοι**, the opt. of repeated action in a past general supposition, G. *MT.* § 462, Ruth. § 283.

18. ἡ...ἀνίσταται: Cp. *Phoc.* c. 5, 4 *ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης τῶν μὲν ἄλλων κατεφρόνει πολὺ ῥητόρων, ἀνισταμένου δὲ τοῦ Φωκίωνος εἰώθει λέγειν ἀτρέμα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους 'ἡ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων κοπὶς πάρεστιν.' 'Αλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἴσως πρὸς τὸ ἦθος ἀνοιστέον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ νεῦμα μόνον ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ μυρίοις ἐνθυμήμασι καὶ περιόδοις ἀντίρροπον ἔχει πίστιν*, *Mor.* 803 E, Stobaeus *Serm.* 37 p. 221 *ἡ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων σφῦρα καὶ κοπὶς ἔρχεται.* See *Addenda.*

§ **3.** l. **19. τοῦτο...ἐπεπόνθει**, 'had this feeling because of his power of speaking or because of his life and high character.' For the expression *πάσχειν τι πρός τι*, 'to be affected by anything,' see my n. to *Them.* c. 31, 1 ed. 3 and cp. *Mor.* 160 D *πολλὰ πάσχοντι πρὸς τὸν λόγον ὅμοιος ὤν*, Dion. H. *de Demosth.* c. 21 *ὃ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας πάσχω τὰς λέξεις.* **ἄδηλον** (*sc. ἐστί*) **εἴτε**, c. 15, 3.

22. πίστιν ἔχοντος, 'trusted.' See n. to c. 7, 1.

CHAPTER XI

§ **1.** l. **2. ἐλαττώμασι**, 'defects' (unclassical in this sense).

3. ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος, c. 9, 4. Cp. Dion. H. *de Demosth.* c. 53 *τὰ πάθη τὰ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τὰ σχήματα τοῦ σώματος, οἷς κράτιστα ἕξειν ἔμελλεν (ἡ ὑπόκρισις), οὐ μικρῷ πόνῳ κατειργάσατο, καίτοι φύσει πρὸς ταῦτα οὐ πάνυ εὐτυχεῖ χρησάμενος, ὡς Δημήτριός τε ὁ Φαληρεύς φησι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οἱ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ συγγράψαντες.* Cic. Ep. I 2 *de petit. cons.*

4. αὐτοῦ Δ. ἀκοῦσαι, 'that he heard it from D. himself.'

5. γάρ, explanatory of *τοιαύτην* here used for *τοιάνδε*.

6. τραυλότητα, 'tendency to lisp,' inability to pronounce the letter *ρ* articulately, giving it the sound of *λ*. Thus Alcibiades is said to have been *τραυλός*; when he meant *κόραξ* 'raven,' he was understood to say *κόλαξ*, 'flatterer,' *Alc.* c. 1, 4. Cp. Arist. *Vesp.* 44, 45, Cic. *de orat.* I 61, 260 *cum ita balbus esset* (Atheniensis

Demosthenes), *ut eius ipsius artis* (ῥητορικῆς), *cui studeret, primam literam non posset dicere, perfecit meditando ut nemo planius esse locutus putaretur*, id. *de div.* II 46, 96. Aristotle is said to have laboured under the same defect, *Mor.* 53 C, Diog. Laert. V 1.

ἐκβιάζεσθαι καὶ διαρθροῦν, 'that he attempted to get rid of (his indistinct pronunciation, ἀσάφειαν) by force and to articulate it,' i.e. to replace it by a more articulate pronunciation. Observe that the infinitives depend upon λέγοντος implied in Δημοσθένους ἀκούειν, or upon ἱστορεῖ: cf. c. 10, l. 7. **8. ῥήσεις**: c. 7, 2.

§ **2.** **ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις**, 'while running,' with διαλεγόμενον.

9. πρὸς τὰ σιμά, 'up steep places,' as Xen. *Hell.* IV iii 23 πρὸς τὸ σιμόν, 'up hill.' Cp. Quint. XI 3, 54 *scandens in adversum continuabat quam posset plurimos versus.*

10. ἅμα τῷ πνεύματι πυκνουμένῳ, 'while holding his breath,' i.e. without taking breath, at a single breath. Cic. *de or.* I 61, 261 *deinde, cum spiritus eius esset angustior, tantum continenda anima in dicendo est adsecutus, ut una continuatione verborum, id quod eius scripta declarant, binae ei contentiones vocis et remissiones continerentur. Qui etiam, ut memoriae proditum est, coniectis in os calculis, summa voce versus multos uno spiritu pronunciare consuescebat; neque is consistens in loco, sed inambulans atque ascensu ingrediens arduo.* For some other particulars, see Cic. *de Fin.* V 2, [Lucian] *Enc. Dem.* c. 14. **προφερόμενον**, c. 7, 2.

12. πρὸς τοῦτο...ἱστάμενον, 'taking his stand in front of this.' So *vit. X orr.* 844 E ἔσοπτρον ἰσομέγεθες αὑτῷ κατασκευάσαι καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἀφορῶντα μελετᾶν, ἵν' ἐπανορθώσηται τὰ ἐλλείποντα. Cp. the expressions πρὸς πῦρ, πρὸς ἥλιον, πρὸς σελήνην, πρὸς τὸ φῶς, πρὸς εἵλην. **τὰς μελέτας...περαίνειν**, 'went through his exercises,' c. 5, 3; c. 6, 1.

15. ὑπό του λάβοι πληγάς, 'had been struck by some one.' There is no aor. or perf. in use of τύπτεσθαι in the sense of *vapulare*; τετύπτημαι and ἐτυπτήθην are late Greek forms: the proper expressions in classical Greek are πληγὰς εἰληφέναι and πληγὰς λαβεῖν. In the sense of *percuti, vulnerari* the forms in use are πέπληγμαι (sometimes πληγὴν εἴληφα or ἔχω) and ἐπλήγην. See Cobet *var. lect.* p. 331 f.

§ **3.** l. 22. **οὕτως μέγα**, 'of such great importance.' **τὸν τόνον**, *contentionem vocis*, 'the pitch of the voice.'

23. τὴν ὑπόκρισιν, 'action' i.e. delivery and gesture, c. 7, 2.

24. οἱ χαρίεντες (antecedent of ὧν), 'people of taste,' 'the cultivated')(*οἱ πολλοί*, as Arist. *Eth. Nic.* I c. 4, Dion. H. *de Demosth.* c. 15.

25. ταπεινὸν καὶ ἀγεννές, 'mean and vulgar.' Cf. *Mor.* 123 C, 13
ἀγεννῆ καὶ ταπεινὴν δίαιταν. **τὸ πλάσμα**, 'gesture.'

§ **4.** l. 27. **Αἰσίωνα**, Aesion, an Athenian orator contemporary with Dem. Suidas says *s.v.* Δημοσθένης I: συνεφιλολόγησε Αἰσίωνι τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ. His name occurs, but only as the father of

Euctemon, *Mid.* § 165. Aristotle (*Rhet.* III 10, 7 *g*) quotes a pointed saying of his concerning the invasion of Sicily:—*ὅτι εἰς Σικελίαν τὴν πόλιν ἐξέχεαν*, 'that they (the Athenians) had drained their entire city into Sicily.' **Ἕρμιππος**: c. 28, 3 note.

28. **τῶν καθ' αὐτόν**, *aequalium*, 'his (Aesion's) contemporaries,' c. 14, 1.

29. **ἀκούων** is not for *εἰ ἤκουεν*, since *ἂν ἐθαύμασεν* is the potential indicative and does not refer to any definite condition, but merely expresses past possibility. See G. *MT.* § 244.

30. **ἐκείνους** *sc. τοὺς πάλαι ῥήτορας.*

33. **πολύ...διαφέρουσιν**, 'are much superior in point of construction and of force.'

35. **πολύ**, predicative attribute to *τὸ αὐστηρὸν καὶ πικρόν.* **τί ἂν λέγοι τις**; 'why should one say?' 'what is the use of saying?', since every one knows it.

36. **ταῖς παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἀπαντήσεσι**, 'in his extempore retorts and rejoinders' (*Clough*). For *παρά*, cp. *Pelop.* c. 9, 4 *θαρρεῖν παρὰ τὰ δεινά*, *Them.* c. 8, 1 *παρὰ τοὺς κινδύνους* w. note, c. 27, 1 *γενόμενος παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ δεινόν*, Pomp. c. 42, 5 *παρὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ*, Dem. *de Cor.* § 285 *παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ συμβάντα*, and for *ἀπάντησις*, *Mor.* 803 C *τὰς ἀμείψεις καὶ τὰς ἀπαντήσεις.*

§ 5. l. 38. **ἐμὲ Δημοσθένης** *sc. διδάσκει* or *διορθοῦν βούλεται*: see below l. 40. **ἡ ὗς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν** *sc. διδάσκει*, *sus Minervam* (*docet*), proverb of a dunce setting himself up against a wise man. Cp. Theocr. *Idyll.* 5, 23 *ὗς ποτ' Ἀθηναίαν ἔριν ἤρισε.*

39. **ἐν Κολλυτῷ**: Collytus was a deme in the phylê Aegêis.

40. **ἐπεκαλεῖτο**, c. 4, 1.

41. **καὶ αὐτόν**, like Pytheas c. 8, 3. **αὐτοῦ** refers to Dem. **εἰς τὰς ἀγρυπνίας...τι λέγειν**, 'to remark upon his habit of sitting up late at night,' c. 4, 3. Cp. *Mor.* 803 C *ἀμυνομένῳ δὲ συγγνώμην ἅμα καὶ χάριν ὁ καιρὸς δίδωσι· καθάπερ Δημοσθένει πρὸς τὸν αἰτίαν ἔχοντα κλέπτειν, χλευάζοντα δ' αὐτοῦ τὰς νυκτογραφίας· 'Οἶδα ὅτι σε λυπῶ λύχνον καίων·' καὶ πρὸς Δημάδην βοῶντα 'Δημοσθένης ἐμὲ βούλεται διορθοῦν, ἡ ὗς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν·' 'Αὕτη μέντοι πέρυσιν ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ μοιχεύουσα ἐλήφθη.'* **λύχνον καίων**: the midnight lamp of Demosthenes would be a bugbear to thieves and burglars.

§ 6. l. 45. **χαλκοῦς**: there is here a play of words on the name of the thief in question, viz. *Χαλκοῦς* 'Brasen.' The house walls built of mud (*πηλίνους*) i.e. of mortar mixed with hair or straw, which was called *πηλὸς ἠχυρωμένος* or *τετριχωμένος* or *διειργασμένος*, would be easily bored through by metal implements.

48. **αὐτοῦ** *sc.* Demosthenes. **ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων**, c. 3, 1.

CHAPTER XII

§ **1.** l. **1.** **ὥρμησε**: cp. *Cim.* c. 5, 1 *ὁρμήσαντα δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν.* **μὲν οὖν**: the subject is resumed from c. 6, 1. **πράττειν τὰ κοινά**, c. 6, 1. **τοῦ Φωκικοῦ πολέμου συνεστῶτος**, 'after the Phocian war had broken out' (B.C. 355). See n. to c. 18, 2.

2. **ὡς αὐτός φησι**: *de cor.* § 18 *τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ συστάντος πολέμου, οὐ δι' ἐμέ (οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἐπολιτευόμην πω τότε)...* The date of the earliest of the political speeches of Demosthenes—that on the *Συμμορίαι* or 'navy boards' (or. 14)—was B.C. 354, a year after the beginning of the war. See n. to l. 6. Dion. Hal. 1 *ep. ad Ammae.* c. 4.

3. **λαβεῖν ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν δημηγοριῶν**, 'one may conclude (c. 14, 3) from the speeches which he delivered against Philip' (c. 13, 4).

Under this title were comprised orr. i—xi, viz. or. 4 (the *First Philippic*, B.C. 351); orr. 1, 2, 3 (the three *Olynthiacs* B.C. 349, 348); or. 5 (that on the *Peace* B.C. 346); or. 6 (the *Second Philippic* B.C. 344); or. 7 (that on *Halonnesus* B.C. 342 but apocryphal, see note on c. 9, 5); or. 8 (that on the *Chersonese*); or. 9 (the *Third Philippic* B.C. 341); or. 10 (the *Fourth* Philippic—a rhetorical forgery—B.C. 341); or. 11 (that in reply to Philip's letter, also a forgery).

4. **αἱ μέν**, the *Second Philippic* and those which followed it.

5. **διαπεπραγμένων ἐκείνων**, 'after they had been despatched,' 'made an end of'—a meaning of the verb peculiar to poetry. **ἐκείνων** *sc. τῶν Φωκέων*, implied in *τοῦ Φωκικοῦ πολέμου.* On the Sacred War, see n. to c. 18, 2. The authorities are Diod. Sic. XVI c. 23—c. 40; c. 56—c. 60; Arist. Πολ. V 3, 4; Duris ap. Athenae. XIII p. 560, Theopompus, Demophilus in his continuation of his father Ephorus' work, and Diyllus. For the Phocian coins struck in the time of the war, see Head *Hist. Num.* 288.

6. **τῶν ἔγγιστα πραγμάτων**, 'the most recent events of the war.' He means the *First Philippic* and *the three Olynthiacs* (B.C. 352—349).

7. **τὴν κατὰ Μειδίου...δίκην.** We learn from the oration itself 14
(§ 154) that Dem. was thirty-two years old, when he commenced the proceedings against Midias, but see the *Chronologia Demosthenica* B.C. 349. Midias, son of Cephisodorus, of the Ath. deme Anagyrus, a man of wealth and influence, was a private enemy and political opponent of Dem., with whom he had a quarrel of some standing. The cause of the proceeding of Dem. against him was an assault committed with aggravating circumstances at the Dionysia, when Dem. was choragus. For this Dem. preferred a charge against him before the ecclesia by a process called *προβολή*, and procured an adverse vote, directing a criminal prosecution of the offender. It is doubtful whether the trial before a jury ever took place. Aeschines (*Ctes.* § 52) reproaches Dem. with having compromised the affair for 30 minas, and Dem. does not contradict him. If Plutarch's view be the true one, viz. that he settled the

dispute under the apprehension that the wealth and influence of Midias would be too strong for him, we must suppose, says Kennedy, that the Athenian law did not forbid him to accept compensation and that this was not one of the cases, in which the dropping of a prosecution was attended with disfranchisement. See *Addenda*.

8. **δύο ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη**, 'when he was 32 years old.' For the use of the article, see HA. *Gr.* § 664 c.

9. **μηδέπω**, unclassical for *οὐδέπω*. Cp. c. 13, 1, c. 18, 1. **ἰσχύν**, *potestatem*, 'influence:' *Per.* c. 39, 3, *Anton.* c. 5, 1 *μεγάλην ἀπὸ τοῦ λέγειν ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔχων ἰσχύν*, *Galb.* c. 13, 2 *ἣν ἔσχε Τιγελλῖνος ἰσχὺν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι*.

§ **2.** l. **11.** **ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ** 'for (on condition of receiving) a sum of money.' The amount for which he compromised the suit is mentioned l. 18. **καταθέσθαι**, 'dropped,' 'put an end to.' Cp. Thuc. 1, 121, 1 *καταθησόμεθα αὐτὸν (τὸν πόλεμον) ἐν καιρῷ*, 4, 20, 1, Dem. *de f. l.* § 264, *ὅπως ἐβούλοντο, οὕτω τὸν πόλεμον κατέθεντο*, Lys. 33, 6 *ἄξιον τὸν πόλεμον καταθέσθαι*. The meaning 'laid up in store,' wrongly assigned to it in this passage in Didot's *Steph. Thes.*, is found in Lysias *λόγος ἐπιτάφιος* § 22 *φανερὰν ἔχθραν πρὸς ἐκείνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καταθέσθαι* i.e. *suscipere, serere quasi causas simultatis*. **τὸν ἄνθρωπον**, c. 11, 3; c. 14, 4.

13. **οὐ γάρ τι κτλ.** This verse, applied to Achilles in the original (*Il.* xx 467), is there followed by the words *ἀλλὰ μάλ' ἐμμεμαώς*, for which Plutarch substitutes *ἀλλ' ἔντονος κτλ.*

14. **πρὸς τὰς ἀμύνας**=*πρὸς τὸ ἀμύνασθαι*, 'for defending or avenging himself,' 'to get himself righted.'

Ἄμυνα, *ultio*, an un-Attic word, on which see Lobeck *Phryn.* 23. It entered the common dialect most probably from the dialects, as Rutherford observes. (The compound *χειμάμυνα* was used of *χλαῖνα παχεῖα* by Aeschylus, as we are told by Julius Pollux 7, 61.) Cp. *Mor.* 622 A *ποιητέον εὐκόλους οὕτω...τὰς ἀμύνας*, *Ti. Gr.* c. 21, 2 *ἀμύνης περιμένων καιρόν*, *C. Gr.* c. 13, 32 *παρώξυνε τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμυναν*, *Anton:* c. 46, 1 *τοῦτο ποιοῦνται πέρας ἀμύνης*, *Arat.* c. 45, 5 *ταῦτα μὲν ἔσχε τὸν τῆς ἀμύνης νόμον*, *Thes.* c. 30, 2 *ἐτράποντο πρὸς ἄμυναν*, *Crass.* c. 26, 4 *οὐ θυμοῦ πρὸς ἄμυναν ἀλλὰ φρίκης καὶ τρόμου πᾶσιν ἐγγενομένου*, *Mor.* 988 E, 1060 A *βούλομαι ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς ἀμύνης*, *Sertor.* c. 22, 1 *ὡς ἀπογνώσει φανερᾶς ἀμύνης ὠνούμενος τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ προδοσίας*, *Pelop. c. Marc. comp.* c. 3, 1 *πρὸς τὴν ἄμυναν οὐκ ἀγεννῶς ἐκφέρων ὁ θυμός*. Elsewhere it means 'self-defence,' as *Lys. c. Sull. comp.* c. 5, 3, *Mor.* 597 D *πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἄμυναν ὥρμησεν*, *Marc.* c. 9, 3 *οὐ διαρκῆ πρὸς ἄμυναν στρατηγόν*, *Crass.* c. 25, 6 *πρὸς φυγὴν ἀμηχάνους καὶ πρὸς ἄμυναν*, *Mor.* 966 C, *τὸν δ' ἕτερον (ὀδόντα) ἔπακμον ἀεὶ καὶ ὀξὺν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀμύνας φυλάττουσιν*, 987 C *πρὸς ἀληθινῆς ἀλκῆς ποιοῦνται τὰς ἀμύνας*.

15. **φαῦλον**, 'light,' 'easy.' **τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως**, predicate gen. after *ὄν*.

17. **καθελεῖν**, 'to put down.' **ἐνέδωκε**, *concessit*.

§ **3.** l. **18.** **αἱ τρισχίλιαι** *sc.* *δραχμαί*. **καθ' ἑαυτάς**, 'by themselves,' 'alone.' **οὐκ ἄν μοι δοκοῦσι τὴν Δημ. ἀμβλῦναι**

πικρίαν, 'would not, methinks, have blunted the edge of his resentment.' This refers to the interpretation which Aeschines (*Ctes.* § 52) puts upon Dem.'s acceptance of the 30 minae. The force of *ἄν* falls of course on the infinitive; in direct discourse the clause would be *οὐκ ἄν ἤμβλυναν...εἰ (Δημοσθένης) ἤλπιζε καὶ ἐδύνατο περιγενέσθαι*. For the aorist inf. after *ἐλπίζοντος*, see G. *MT.* § 136.

21. λαβὼν—ὑπόθεσιν, c. 31, 2. See note to *Timol.* c. 2, 2 and add to the passages there quoted *Arat.* c. 43, 1 *πρώτην εἰληφότα μεγίστην ὑπόθεσιν τῆς πολιτείας τὴν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον ἔχθραν*, *Cic.* c. 37, 2 *καλὴν ὑπόθεσιν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἔχοντος*, *Ti. Gr.* c. 9, 4 *πρὸς καλὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ δικαίαν ἀγωνιζόμενος*, where there is a similar use of *πρός* to that in l. 23.

25. περίβλεπτος...ἤρθη, 'he rose to celebrity,' a proleptic predicate nominative, such as is often found with the passives of *αἱρεῖν*, *αὐξάνειν* and verbs of kindred meaning. It corresponds to the accusative of effect with the active. Cp. c. 20, 1, *Tim.* c. 28, 4 *ὁ Κρίμησος...μέγας τοῖς ὄμβροις ηὐξημένος*, *Cic.* c. 4, 3 *ἡ φωνὴ...ἡδεῖα πρὸς ἀκοὴν ἐτέθραπτο*, *Phoc.* c. 23, 4 *λαμπρὸς ἤρθη ταῖς πράξεσι*.

27. τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, 'the King of Persia:' c. 14, 2.

§ **4.** l. **28. πλεῖστον δ' αὐτοῦ λόγον εἶναι κτλ.**, 'of all the (Athenian) statesmen he was held in most account by Philip.'

29. ὁμολογεῖν κτλ. Cp. a fictitious letter of Aeschines (12, 4), which Plutarch did not regard as apocryphal;—*καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, εἰ καὶ τῶν νόμων τῶν ὑμετέρων καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἡ Δημοσθένους δεινότης κρείσσων ἐγένετο*; also Hypereides *c. Dem.* (1 12, 18) *καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐλάττοσι ῥήτορσιν ἀπέτινεν ὁ Ἅρπαλος χρυσίον, τοῖς θορύβου μόνον καὶ κραυγῆς κυρίοις,—σὲ δὲ τὸν τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων ἐπιστάτην παρεῖδεν; καὶ τῷ τοῦτο πιστόν;*

31. Αἰσχίνης: see n. to c. 9, 1. **Ὑπερείδης**: Hypereides, son of Glaucippus, of the deme Collytus (c. 11, 5) born B.C. 396, a pupil of Isocrates and one of the ten great orators of Athens, belonged to the same political party as Demosthenes. However, in the proceedings in which he was tried for corruption, Hypereides was one of his accusers. An important fragment of the speech which he delivered on that occasion, as well as three other speeches, more or less mutilated, were found in 1847 by Messrs Harris and Arden, on a papyrus-roll taken from an ancient tomb. With the exception of a few short fragments quoted by ancient authors, these fragments are all we possess of the works of Hypereides. His hostility to Demosthenes was only temporary. On his death (B.C. 322), see c. 28, 4. See also *Addenda et Corrigenda*.

CHAPTER XIII

§ **1.** l. **1. ὅθεν**, c. 1, 3; c. 5, 3. **παρέστη**, *in mentem venit*, c. 9, 3. **Θεοπόμπῳ**, *Philippica* x *fr.* 106, c. 4, 1.

This sneer of Theopompus, which puzzled Plutarch, may be especially referred, says G. A. Simcox (Dem. *de cor.* p. xxxii), to those years of his life which intervened between the trial of the guardians and his entrance into public life. This time, especially in its later part, seems to have been one of effusive and hardly creditable intimacies. By the report of his enemies (Aesch. *de f. l.* § 177, *Tim.* §§ 170—6) Dem. was the oracle of a fluctuating circle of heady rich young men, each of whom expected to become the first man in Athens, thanks to his own abilities and the training of his gifted friend, who meanwhile made the connexion subserve his own convenience. The earliest, most lasting, most business-like, and perhaps the most questionable of these intimacies, was with Apollodorus (see c. 15, 1), who was in a state of constant collision with Phormion, his father's confidential freedman and successor in business, who, like his master, had been naturalised.

3. μήτε, abnormal for *οὔτε*. See Gr. Ind. *s. v. μή*.

5. ἐπιμένειν, 'to continue in,' 'remain true to.' The more usual word was *ἐμμένειν*. **φαίνεται...**(*τὴν*) **τῶν πραγμάτων μερίδα...διαφυλάξας**, 'it is clear that he remained constant to his party and kept his post.' For *τάξιν*, cp. *Cic.* c. 38, 1 *ἣν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἵλετο τῆς πολιτείας τάξιν*, and for *μερίδα*, see Dem. *de cor.* § 64, Gr. Ind. *s. v.*

9. μή is used by Plut. with predicative participles after *φαίνεσθαι*, etc. where *οὐ* is normal in Attic prose, but not always, as *οὐ* follows *ὁρᾶν*, c. 22, 4. **ἐπί**, c. 27, 4.

§ 2. l. 10. οὐ γάρ—ὡς: the clauses introduced by *ὡς* extend to l. 20, where *οὕτως* takes up the main sentence introduced by *οὐ γάρ*.

13. μηδέποτε, l. 3: see Gr. Ind. *s. v. μή*. **Μελάνωπος**: Melanopus, son of Lachês, took part in different embassies sent by the Athenians to Sparta (B.C. 371), Egypt and Caria. His honesty was not above suspicion. **ἀντιπολιτευόμενος**, c. 21, 1, *Per.* c. 8, 3 *ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς πλεῖστον ἀντεπολιτεύσατο τῷ Περικλεῖ χρόνον*.

14. Καλλιστράτῳ: see n. to c. 5, 1. **ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χρήμασι μετατιθέμενος** (middle), 'being made to change his opinion by him for money.' On *χρήμασι* for *χρημάτων*, cp. *Them.* c. 6, 1, and for *μετατιθέμενος*, see Gr. Ind. *s. v.*

§ 3. l. 17. προστιθέμενος, 'when he attached himself to.'

18. Δημητρίου: Cassander (son of Antipater), lieutenant and really king of Macedon, was from B.C. 301 to 307 master of Athens, which he left during the whole of that period under the oligarchical sway of Demetrius of Phalerum (c. 9, 4). In B.C. 307 Demetrius Poliorcêtês—son of Antigonus, the companion-in-arms of Alexander the Great, the future conqueror of Ipsus, then 'king of Asia'—re-established democracy at Athens. It is this Demetrius, whom Nicodemus, the person here spoken of by Plutarch, served after his desertion of the party of the vanquished Cassander.

19. τἀναντία *sc. ἑαυτῷ*. There is a play of words in the expression, since *ἐναντία* may mean either 'contradictory' or 'opposed to one's interests.'

20. **ἀκροᾶσθαι**, *dicto audientem esse.*

21. **[οὐκ] ἔχομεν**, *non possumus.* **οἷον** for ὡς. **ἐκτρεπομένου**, *declinantis*, 'turning aside,' 'swerving.'

22. **πλαγιάζοντος ἢ φωνὴν ἢ πρᾶξιν**, 'twisting and turning (i.e. adapting to circumstances) either utterance or deed,' 'an opportunist.' With *πλαγιάζειν* cp. Fr. *biaiser*, 'to go slantwise,' hence 'to use shifts, shuffle.'

ἀφ' ἑνὸς...διαγράμματος...ἕνα τόνον: Metaphors borrowed from the musical phraseology of the Greeks. In Greek music there were three genera, the diatonic genus, the chromatic genus, the enharmonic genus, each of which had a separate musical scale or gamut. The series of sounds, of which each of these three musical scales was composed, was called *διάγραμμα*. One might conceive of a singer passing from one genus to the other i.e. changing the *διάγραμμα*: this is what Dem., speaking metaphorically, never did. Without a change of genus, or, in other words, *ἀφ' ἑνὸς καὶ ἀμεταβόλου διαγράμματος*, one might choose one key or another in succession, that is what is meant by modulation: Plutarch says that Dem. never changed, but kept invariably to the very key which he first sounded, in politics. Plutarch employs the same metaphor in speaking of the flatterer, *Mor.* 55 D *ὁ δὲ κόλαξ ἀφ' ἑνὸς διαγράμματος ἀεὶ τὸ ἡδὺ καὶ τὸ πρὸς χάριν ὑποκρέκειν εἰωθὼς οὔτ' ἔργον οἶδεν ἀντιτεῖνον οὔτε ῥῆμα λυποῦν*. Observe that *ἀπό* indicates the point of departure, and so the principle which regulates an action.

§ **4.** l. **25.** Panaetius (B.C. 170—100) of Rhodes, an eclectic Stoic philosopher, taught in his own country and afterwards at Rome. He travelled in Asia Minor and Egypt (B.C. 143) with Scipio Africanus the younger; then settled at Athens, where he passed the remainder of his days. His numerous writings on philosophical subjects are lost; that *περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων*, 'on Moral Obligations,' in Three Books served as a model for Cicero's *de officiis*. The testimony to Demosth. was doubtless taken from this work. **καὶ τῶν λόγων**)(*ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν* l. 24.

27. **τὸν περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου κτἑ.**: For the speech *on the Crown*, see c. 24; for those on *the Immunities* and *against Aristocrates*, c. 15, 2; for those *against Philip*, c. 12, 1.

33. **οἴεται δεῖν ἐν δευτέρᾳ τάξει τοῦ καλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι**, 'thinks it right to reckon even these as of inferior rank to honour,' to regard honour as the primary object and even their own safety and preservation as a matter of secondary consideration. *Δεύτερος* is in form a comparative, and here takes the construction of one, as in Herod. I 23, Eur. *Troad.* 614.

§ **5.** l. **34.** **ὡς**, 'so that,' 'that is why.'

35. **περὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις**, 'of his principles.' See n. to c. 6, 1; c. 30, 2.

36. **εὐγενείᾳ**, 'lofty tone,' 'dignity.'

38. καθαρῶς, 'with clean hands' i.e. without the taint of bribery, 'disinterestedly.'

39. κατά, 'contemporary with' (c. 7, 3). Moerocles, a native of Salamis, was one of the anti-Macedonian orators, whose extradition Alexander demanded from the Athenians after the destruction of Thebes (c. 23, 3), though subsequently Demades induced him not to press his demand against any but Charidemus. He is mentioned four times by Demosthenes, and it appears from one passage that he was inclined to be grasping in money matters. Aristotle (*Rhet.* III 10, 7 *e*) quotes a smart saying of his on 'respectable knaves.' **Πολύευκτον**, c. 10, 2; c. 23, 3.

40. Ὑπερείδην, c. 12, 4.

41. ἄνω, not 'on a high level,' but rather as Schaefer, Büchsenschütz and others, 'in old time,' 'in the earlier and better days.' **Κίμωνος**: Cimon, son of the famous Miltiades, born about B.C. 510, found himself, after the banishment of Themistocles (B.C. 471) and the death of Aristides (B.C. 468), the most eminent general of Athens. He distinguished himself by his victories over the Persians and directed political government, until the daily-increasing influence of Pericles, who was at the head of the democratical party, overthrew the oligarchy and obliged him to submit to ostracism (B.C. 461). Recalled after four years of exile, he concluded a truce of five years between Athens and Sparta, and took the command of an Athenian expedition to Cyprus, which belonged to the King of Persia, where, while besieging Citium, he was carried off by illness or the effects of a wound (B.C. 449). **Θουκυδίδου**, (not the historian, son of Olorus, but) the statesman, son of Melêsias and brother-in-law of Cimon, after whose death he was the leader of the aristocratical party at Athens and the unequally-matched opponent of Pericles. The struggle between them was brought to a close by the ostracism of Thucydides B.C. 444. Cf. *Nic.* c. 2, 1, 2, where there is a reference to Aristotle *περὶ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας* c. 28:—*δοκοῦσι δὲ βέλτιστοι γεγονέναι τῶν Ἀθήνησι πολιτευσαμένων μετὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους Νικίας καὶ Θουκυδίδης καὶ Θηραμένης· καὶ περὶ μὲν Νικίου καὶ Θουκυδίδου πάντες σχεδὸν ὁμολογοῦσιν ἄνδρας γεγονέναι οὐ μόνον καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιτικοὺς καὶ τῇ πόλει πάσῃ πατρικῶς χρωμένους.* **Περικλέους**, c. 6, 4.

42. ἄξιος ἦν: on the apodosis without *ἄν*, see G. *MT.* § 416 ff.

CHAPTER XIV

§ **1.** l. 1. **τῶν κατ' αὐτόν**, 'of his (Demosthenes') contemporaries,' c. 11, 4; c. 13, 5.

2. **Φωκίων**, c. 10, 2. **οὐκ ἐπαινουμένης προϊστάμενος πολιτείας**, 'although he was the defender, champion of a policy not in favour, unpopular.' Cp. Lysias 25 § 9 *τοὺς προστάντας ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πολιτειῶν, ὁσάκις δὴ μετεβάλοντο.*

4. δοκῶν, 'being generally reputed.' **5. οὐδαμῇ**, *nullo modo*.

6. Ἐφιάλτου: Ephialtes, an Athenian statesman and general, a contemporary and friend of Pericles, whose main ostensible agent he was in carrying political measures (*Per.* c. 7), particularly in the abridgment of the power of the Areopagus, which inflicted such a blow on the oligarchical party. His services to the democratic cause excited the rancorous enmity of political opponents and led to his assassination in B.C. 457. He had the reputation of being a virtuous, unselfish and disinterested citizen.

7. Ἀριστείδου: Aristides, son of Lysimachus, of the Athenian deme Alopecê, surnamed 'the Just.' He was born about B.C. 540, and became archon B.C. 489. The glorious part he played as a general and political administrator is well known. Banished by ostracism in B.C. 483, he was recalled at the close of a few years and became reconciled to his former political opponent, Themistocles. He gave proofs of his military capacity at the battles of Marathon and Plataea, and held a command on the celebrated day of Salamis. He died about B.C. 468.

§ **2.** l. 8. **ὁ Δημήτριος**, Phalereus, not Magnes, c. 9, 4.

9. οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ λαμβάνειν παντάπασιν ἀπωχυρωμένος, 'and not altogether proof against the temptation of receiving money.' The expression *ἀπωχυρωμένος*, 'secured by fortification,' is probably taken from Demetrius himself, as Hemsterhuis observes.

10. τῷ μὲν (*sc.* *χρυσίῳ*) **ἀνάλωτος ὤν**, 'though he was proof against Philip's gold.' Cp. Xen. *Ages.* c. 8, 8 *ψυχὴν ἀνάλωτον ὑπὸ χρημάτων*. For *μέν* in parataxis, see n. to c. 9, 3.

11. ἄνωθεν, 'from upper (i.e. inland) Asia.' Susa was the winter, as Egbatana was the summer, residence of the King of Persia. Cp. c. 12, 3.

12. ἐπιβατός, 'accessible to,' said of a wall or position, which is easily assailable. The metaphor is continued from *ἀπωχυρωμένος* and *ἀνάλωτος*; it is changed with *κατακεκλυσμένος*.

On the imputation of bribery against Dem., Plutarch speaks more precisely in c. 20, 4, 5. The King of Persia (Darius Codomanus) naturally wished to keep up an organized opposition to the king of Macedonia in Greece, as a means of preventing the invasion of his own country. Cp. Aeschines *Ctes.* § 173 *νῦν μέντοι τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον ἐπικέκλυκε τὴν δαπάνην αὐτοῦ* (*sc.* Demosthenes), § 209, and again § 239 *τὰ δ' ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντα ὑποσιωπᾷς ἃ παραλαβὼν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ χρυσίου ἀπεστέρησας*, 'you withheld,' 'refused to give up,' § 240. According to Dinarchus (*c. Dem.* § 18, cp. § 70), he had received 30 talents from the King of Persia to save Thebes; according to the *vit. X orr.* 847 F, 3000 darics. Cp. Diod. Sic. XVII 4.

14. οὐχ ὁμοίως *sc.* *ἦν ἱκανός*. **ἐπεὶ τούς γε κτλ.**, 'he was superior, though, to the orators who were his contemporaries in his private life and conversation as well (as in his oratory).' This sentence, embodying Plutarch's own judgment, refers to the conclusion of c. 13. For *ἐπεί—γε*, *quamquam*, *ceterum*, cp. c. 9, 4, *Mor.* 160 A.

15. ἔξω λόγου τίθεμαι, 'I put out of the question,' 'do not take into account,' 'except.' Cp. *Cim.* c. 3, 2, *Mor.* 671 A.

16. παρῆλθε, lit. 'distanced.' Rösiger is clearly wrong in his version *superstes aequalium oratorum erat*, as is pointed out by Gebhard who correctly translates *vitae quoque laude vicit* i.e. non solum orationibus.

§ **3.** l. **17. μετὰ παρρησίας,** 'boldly.' See Gr. Ind. *s. v.* *μετά*.

20. ἐπιφυόμενος, 'fastening upon,' 'attacking.' See n. to *Nic.* c. 10, 3.

21. λαβεῖν: c. 12, 1.

22. Θεόπομπος, in *Phil.* x *fr.* 107; cp. c. 25, 5. **προβαλλομένων,** 'were for appointing him, were putting him forward.'

24. θορυβουμένων, *tumultuantium.*

17 **26. συκοφάντῃ δέ** *sc.* *οὐ χρήσεσθε ἐμοί*, 'but (you will not employ me) as a false accuser, no, not even should you wish.' The apposition of a predicate noun that may be resolved by 'as' is rarely found with the object of a verb which is not in the accusative, except with *χρῆσθαι* and *τυγχάνειν*, as Xen. *Anab.* v 15 *ἐρωτᾶτε τοὺς Τραπεζουντίους ὁποίων τινῶν ἡμῶν ἔτυχον.*

§ **4.** l. **28. Ἀντιφῶντος:** There is an account of the incident by Dem. himself (*de cor.* § 132 f) and a reference to it by Dinarchus (*c. Dem.* § 63 *ἐστρέβλωσαν Ἀντιφῶντα καὶ ἀπέκτειναν οὗτοι τῇ τῆς βουλῆς ἀποφάσει πεισθέντες*). Dem., who had his reasons for it, does not say that it was he himself who brought Antiphon before the Areopagus. Plutarch, on the other hand, relates events inexactly, when he gives us to understand that Antiphon was given up by the Areopagus to the eleven to be put to death. The Areopagus, in the time of Dem., had no such power: it could only hand over to a popular tribunal the accused party whom it considered guilty, and this is what it did. Antiphon was condemned by the jury (*Graux*). **ἀριστοκρατικόν** agrees better with Dinarchus's *ὀλιγαρχικήν* applied to the Areopagus, than with Demosthenes's *ὡς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ δεινὰ ποιῶ.*

29. ἀνήγαγε, 'brought up' for trial, a common meaning of the word in late Greek; see my note to *Them.* c. 23, 3 ed. 3.

30. παρ' οὐδὲν τὸ προσκροῦσαι τῷ δήμῳ θέμενος, 'setting at nought, being indifferent to, giving offence to (c. 3, 3) the people.'

31. ἤλεγξεν ὑπεσχημένον, 'convicted him of having promised,' G. *Gr.* § 280, *MT.* § 687, § 904.

32. παραδοθείς *sc.* *τοῖς ἕνδεκα*, 'given up to' the officials whose business it was to carry out the sentence. Cp. c. 26, 2, Antiph. *de chor.* § 42 *οὔτε παραδοῦναι φόνου ἔξεστι, οὔτε παρέδωκεν οὐδεὶς πώποτε βασιλεὺς ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ*, Dinarch. *c. Dem.* § 62

τεθνᾶσι κατὰ τὸ σὸν ψήφισμα παραδοθέντες τῷ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀρύγματι. **ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπέθανε,** 'was put to death by the council.'

33. Θεωρίδος: Theoris, the priestess, seems to be the same person who was condemned to death on a charge of impiety (*ἀσεβείας*), and because of the magical practices to which she was addicted. See [Dem.] *c. Aristog.* 1 § 79 (*τὰ φάρμακα*) *ἐφ' οἷς ὑμεῖς τὴν μιαρὰν Θεωρίδα, τὴν Λημνίαν, τὴν φαρμακίδα, καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ γένος ἅπαν ἀπεκτείνατε*, Harpocr. *v.* Θεωρίς: *Μάντις ἦν ἡ Θ. καὶ ἀσεβείας κριθεῖσα ἀπέθανε, ὡς καὶ Φιλόχορος ἐν ἕκτῃ γράφει.* See n. to c. 28, 2; c. 31, 3.

34. ὡς ἄλλα τε ῥᾳδιουργούσης πολλὰ καὶ...διδασκούσης, 'of committing several misdemeanours and among others of teaching etc.'

The Greek for 'many others' is not, as is frequently assumed, *πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι* but *ἄλλοι πολλοί* or (more rarely) *πολλοὶ ἄλλοι*. See a good note on this point by the American scholar Prof. M. W. Humphreys, in *Classical Review* Vol. v p. 431.

35. θανάτου τιμησάμενος *sc. αὐτῇ*, 'estimating (as one of the parties before the court) the penalty due to her at death.' The judges would be said *τιμᾶν*. For *θανάτου* the gen. of value, cp. c. 26, 1, *Phoc.* c. 54, 4 *θανάτου τιμῶμαι τὰ πεπολιτευμένα ἐμαυτῷ*, Plat. *Crit.* c. 14 *ἐξῆν σοι φυγῆς τιμήσασθαι*, *Apol.* 37 C *ἀλλὰ δὴ φυγῆς τιμήσωμαι*; [Dem.] *c. Aristog.* 1 § 74 *οἷς οὗτος θανάτου τιμᾶται καὶ δεσμοῦ*, Xen. *Hell.* V iv 24 *τὸν Σφοδρίαν ὑπῆγον θανάτου.*

36. ἀπέκτεινε, 'got her put to death.' Cp. *Them.* c. 6, 2 *διὰ ψηφίσματος ἀπέκτεινε*, *Anton.* c. 2, 1 *Λέντλῳ, ὃν Κικέρων ἀπέκτεινε*, *Cat. ma.* c. 15, 2 *τοῦτον...μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι δυνηθεὶς ἀφῆκε.*

CHAPTER XV

§ **1.** l. **1. τὸν κατὰ Τιμοθέου...λόγον.** The action was commenced by Apollodorus against Timotheus B.C. 362, fifteen years after the debt was contracted.

The authenticity of the speech (XLIX) has been disputed on various grounds, not only the improbability of Dem., who has in his public orations testified to the high character of Timotheus, charging him with dishonesty in seeking to evade payment of a just debt, and gross ingratitude, but the poverty of style, the multitude of useless repetitions, and the circumstance that Pasicles is produced as a witness, who could hardly have been born at the time of the transaction, which he is called to speak to. Harpocration was the first to suggest a doubt upon the subject; Böckh, Bekker, A. Schäfer and Blass have not hesitated to pronounce the Speech spurious: Reiske, on the other hand, and A. G. Becker believe it to be genuine. See C. R. Kennedy *Transl. of Dem.* V p. 114.

3. εἷλε τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ ὀφλήματος, 'won his case against the man in an action for debt.' Cp. Arist. *Nub.* 591 *Κλέωνα τὸν λάρον δώρων ἑλόντες καὶ κλοπῆς*, *Vesp.* 1207 *Φάϋλλον εἷλον διώκων λοιδορίας*, Plut. *Nic.* c. 28, 3 *δώρων ἁλούς.*

ὄφλημα (ὀφλεῖν) is properly 'a fine imposed in a law suit' and this is its use in Attic Prose. Plutarch, however, uses it for ὀφείλημα (ὀφείλειν), 'a debt incurred,' as *Sull.* c. 8, 2 ἀπέλιπε μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ὀφλήματος μυριάδας τριακοσίας, *Cic.* c. 41, 2 τὴν οἰκίαν τῷ Κικέρωνι...κενὴν ἀπέδειξεν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ὀφλήμασι καὶ μεγάλοις, *Anton.* c. 2, 3 ἐξ ὧν ὄφλημα βαρὺ...αὐτῷ συνήχθη πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ταλάντων, *Brut.* c. 10, 3 παρὰ σοῦ ὡς ὄφλημα πατρικὸν τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς τυραννίδος ἀπαιτούντων, *Galb.* c. 21, 2 ἀκόλαστον εἰδὼς...καὶ πεντακισχιλίων μυριάδων ὀφλήμασι βεβαπτισμένον, *Mor.* 637 A ὥσπερ ὄφλημα τῇ φύσει τὴν γένεσιν ἀποδιδόντων. So [Dem.] *adv. Phaenipp.* (XLII) § 28 νῦν ἥκουσι δανεισταὶ καὶ ὀφλήματα πλέον ἢ τριῶν ταλάντων.

5. τοὺς πρὸς Φορμίωνα καὶ Στέφανον: two speeches against Stephanus, in which Phormio was concerned. The extant speech (XXXIV) πρὸς Φορμίωνα was against quite a different person from the client for whom Demosth. wrote *or.* XXXVI παραγραφὴ ὑπὲρ Φορμίωνος B.C. 350.

The case was this. Pasion, the noted banker whose business his freedman, Phormio, managed, left a widow and two sons. He bequeathed his wife to Phormio (a common Attic practice) together with his banking business and the guardianship of his two sons, Apollodorus and Pasicles, the latter a minor. When the younger son came of age, a settlement was made and Phormio was discharged from the lease of the bank and shield-manufactory, the rents of which he had paid to his late master's sons. Apollodorus, who had given Phormio a release of all demands, more than 18 years after Pasion's death preferred a claim—which is the subject of the action—against Phormio for a sum of banking stock, which he alleged to have been appropriated fraudulently by him to his own use. Phormio in his defence asserts that Pasio left no such banking stock and that the charge was trumped up in order to extort money. The speech in defence made such an impression on the jury that they refused to listen to Apollodorus, and the verdict cost him the ἐπωβελία or $\frac{1}{6}$th of the damages. The Speech is interesting because of the censure to which Dem. laid himself open for his change of sides and for the bitter invective with which he assailed the character of a man, whom he had for many years assisted by his advocacy, and whom he again supported in the suit against Stephanus, which arose out of this very proceeding. Stephanus was sued by Apollodorus for giving false evidence in the trial concerning the establishment of Pasion's will. Demosthenes composed for Apollodorus the first at least of the two extant speeches against Stephanus, in which he contends that the will of Phormio produced at the former trial was a forgery, and gives a wholly different complexion to the family history of Apollodorus, and the proceedings connected with it, from that given in the earlier speech. As to this double-dealing of Dem., Plutarch simply observes that he damaged his reputation (ἠδόξησε) by pleading on different sides in the same quarrel which, he says, was like supplying his adversaries with weapons from the same armoury. Cp. *Dem.-Cic.* c. 3, 5 χρηματίσασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου Δημοσθένης μὲν ἐπιψόγως λέγεται, λογογραφῶν κρύφα τοῖς περὶ Φορμίωνα καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον ἀντιδίκοις. These orations, however, as Clinton observes (*F.H.* II p. 440 note t), were not supplied to the adverse parties in one and the same cause, as the censure of Plutarch would seem to imply, but in distinct and separate actions. Aeschines *de f. leg.* § 165 makes a different charge:—λόγους εἰς δικαστήρια γράφοντα μισθοῦ τούτους ἐκφέρειν τοῖς ἀντιδίκοις. ἔγραψας λόγον Φορμίωνι τῷ τραπεζίτῃ χρήματα λαβών· τοῦτον ἐξήλεγξας Ἀπολλοδώρῳ τῷ περὶ τοῦ σώματος κρίνοντι Φορμίωνα, and *Ctes.* § 173 τοὺς λόγους ἐκφέρων τοῖς ἀντιδίκοις.

6. **ἐφ' οἷς** = *καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις*. See *Addenda*.

7. **λόγῳ Δημοσθένους**, 'with a speech composed by Demosth.'

8. **ἀτεχνῶς καθάπερ**, 'just as if.' Cp. Plat. *Phaed.* 90 C *ἀτεχνῶς ὥσπερ ἐν* Εὐρίπῳ, *Symp.* 217 C *ἀτεχνῶς ὥσπερ ἐραστὴς παιδικοῖς ἐπιβουλεύων*, *legg.* V 732 E *ἀτεχνῶς οἷον ἐξηρτῆσθαι*, XII 952 E *ἀτεχνῶς οἷον πετόμενοι*. **ἐξ ἑνὸς μαχαιροπωλίου**: Scomma non ipsius Plutarchi sed auctoris quem secutus est (*G. H. Schäfer*). There is an allusion seemingly to his father's trade.

9. **πωλοῦντος αὐτοῦ**: the gen. abs. is here used needlessly, since *Δημοσθένους* immediately precedes. See n. to Xen. *Cyr.* I iv 2.

§ **2.** l. **10.** **τῶν δημοσίων λόγων**: 'his orations on public subjects,' as distinguished from those on private quarrels and in the cause of private individuals (*λόγοι ἰδιωτικοί*). The former are again divided into deliberative speeches (*συμβουλευτικοί*) and court speeches (*δικανικοί*) on public questions, like that *on the Crown*. **11.** **ὁ μὲν κατ' Ἀνδροτίωνος καὶ Τιμοκράτους καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους ἑτέροις ἐγράφησαν**: the *Speech against Androtion* was not delivered by Dem. himself, but composed for one Diodorus (B.C. 355), who spoke in support of Euctemon in attacking, as illegal (*παρανόμων*), Androtion's bill for proposing the customary vote of thanks to the outgoing Council, though they had been guilty of dereliction of duty in not providing during their year of office the additional galleys without which they were forbidden by the law to ask for any complimentary gift. The Speech is interesting as being the earliest work of his maturity, but it failed in procuring a verdict. The *Speech against Timocrates* (B.C. 352) which was not a *δευτερολογία*, like the former with which it is closely connected, but the first or main speech—was written for the same Diodorus. It was in support of an indictment preferred against Timocrates for passing an unconstitutional and mischievous law to promote his own ends. The *Speech against Aristocrates* (B.C. 352) was composed for Euthycles, who indicted the defendant for proposing a decree respecting the mercenary general Charidemus of Oreus—who was at that time in the pay of the Thracian king Cersobleptes—declaring his person inviolable and that any man slaying him should be held guilty of a crime against the whole confederacy, no city of which should be allowed to harbour him.

13. **οὔπω τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσεληλυθότος αὐτοῦ**: this is only true of the first. Cp. Dion. Hal. *ep.* I *ad Amm.* c. 4, 1, A. Gell. *NA.* XV 28. Demosth. had already begun his political career, for he pronounced his first political Speech, that *On the Symmories*, B.C. 354, two years before the trial of Aristocrates.

14. **δυεῖν ἢ τριῶν δέοντα ἔτη τριάκοντα γεγονώς**: Demosth. was really 31 years old, when the *Speech against Timocrates* was delivered, 32 at the time of that *against Aristocrates*. Gell. *N. A.* 15, 28 is equally inaccurate in his statement: *Illud adeo ab utriusque oratoris studiosis animadversum et scriptum est, quod Demosthenes et Cicero*

pari aetate illustrissimas orationes, alter κατὰ Ἀνδροτιῶνος καὶ κατὰ Τιμοκράτους XXVII *annos natus, alter anno minor pro P. Quinctio septimoque et vicesimo pro Sexto Roscio.*

15. ἐξενεγκεῖν, c. 3, 2.

16. τὸν κατ' Ἀριστογείτονος: Plutarch mentions only a single speech of Dem. against Aristogeiton, whereas two (XXV, XXVI) have come down to us. The genuineness of both was doubted by Dionysius Halic. and other ancient critics, but Blass admits the first: the second (*οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἔχων τοῦ ῥήτορος*, as Libanius says) has been always considered a rhetorical forgery. Aristogeiton was a vulgar and corrupt Athenian orator, who was prosecuted by Lycurgus and Demosthenes jointly for exercising his civil franchise, while yet a state-debtor.

17. τὸν περὶ τῶν ἀτελειῶν, 'that on the immunities,' already referred to c. 13, 4. This was the celebrated speech in reply to (*πρός*) Leptines, who had passed a statute that no person in Athens should enjoy exemption from the ordinary state burdens, except the representatives of the tyrannicides, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, and that it should not be lawful in future to grant any such exemption on pain of disfranchisement and other severe penalties. It was the first speech of the kind delivered by Dem. in person (B.C. 354). The time for direct indictment (*παρανόμων*) having expired, the orator assists Aphepsion, a previous speaker, in attacking the statute, not the person of the proposer.

18. ὥς φησιν αὐτός: both in § 1 and in § 75 of the *Leptinea*. Chabrias for his great public services was rewarded with exemption from the ordinary public burdens (*λητουργίαι*); this immunity was continued to his degenerate and profligate son Ctesippus, who was therefore personally interested in obtaining a repeal of the statute of Leptines, but not being equal to the task of pleading in court, he secured the advocacy of Demosthenes.

19. μνώμενος, 'because he was courting.'

§ 3. l. **20. Σαμίᾳ τινὶ συνῴκησεν,** 'wedded a lady of Samos.' She was the daughter of an Athenian *κληροῦχος* settled at Samos. We know that Demosthenes was married in B.C. 343.

21. Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης: see c. 27, 5 and *Introduction*.
ἐν τοῖς περὶ συνωνύμων, 'in his work on authors bearing the same name.' It contained not only a history of the lives of the persons treated of, but also a critical examination of their works. Diogenes Laertius frequently refers to it either by the full title *τὰ περὶ τῶν ὁμωνύμων ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων* I 10, 3; V 1, 3; or by that of *ὁμώνυμα* (or *τὰ ὁμώνυμα*) I 1, 38; 4, 79; V 5, 75; 6, 89; VI 2, 79; VII 5, 69; 7, 185; VIII 6, 84; 7, 85; IX 1, 15; 5, 27; 7, 35. Athenaeus quotes it (XIII 611 B) by the latter of the two titles. Demetrius was also the author of a work 'On Concord' (*περὶ ὁμονοίας*) referred to by Cicero *Ep. ad Att.* VIII 11. See c. 27, 5 n.

22. ὁ κατ' Αἰσχίνου...λέλεκται: Dionysius *Ep. ad Amm.* I 10 18
says only *τὸν κατ' Αἰσχίνου λόγον συνετάξατο* i.e. 'composed,' not *διέθετο* or *ἀπήγγειλε* 'delivered.' The speech (XIX) was an attack on that orator for neglect and misconduct in the performance of his duty, and for corruption and betrayal of his country's interests to Philip in the embassy to that monarch which preceded the peace of B.C. 346. Notwithstanding the express testimony of Idomeneus, some ancient and modern critics incline to the opinion that Aeschines was never brought to trial. Cp. *vit. X orr.* 840 C: *εἰσὶ δὲ οἵ φασι συγγράψαι μὲν τοὺς ῥήτορας τοὺς λόγους, ἐμποδὼν δὲ γενομένων τῶν περὶ Χαιρώνειαν μηκέτι τὴν δίκην εἰσελθεῖν.* Plutarch thinks it strange that no mention of the trial should have been made in either of the Speeches *on the Crown*. But, as Kennedy remarks, this negative evidence has but little force under the circumstances, for the reason assigned by Auger, viz. that both the orators had motives for their silence; Dem. had lost the verdict and therefore had nothing to boast of; Aeschines had so small a majority—the whole number of jurors being probably not less than 500—that he was considered not to have obtained an honourable acquittal. Cp. Mahaffy *Gr. Lit.* II § 522.

24. Ἰδομενεύς: Idomeneus of Lampsacus, a friend and pupil of Epicurus (Diog. Laert. X 10, 22, Strabo *Geogr.* XIII 1, 19, Senec. *Epist.* I 21, 22) flourished about B.C. 310—270. He is referred to by Plutarch again in c. 23, 3, and frequently elsewhere, as *Per.* c. 10, 5, c. 35, 4, *Arist.* c. 1, 8, c. 4, 3, c. 10, 8, *Phoc.* c. 4, 1, though the Biographer does not seem to have placed much confidence in his statements, to judge from his observation in c. 23, 3.

Sintenis is of opinion that his work *περὶ Σωκρατικῶν*, referred to by Diogenes Laertius II 5, 20, was not limited to the lives of philosophers, but may have included those of statesmen and others also, as Themistocles, Aristides, Hypereides, Pericles, Aeschines, Phocion. C. Müller, on the other hand, *FHG* II p. 490, admits Sauppe's conjecture, which is based upon a passage in Bekker's *Anecdota* p. 249 where, for the reading *ὡς δὲ Ἰδομένης φησὶ δημαγωγόν*, he suggests *ὡς δὲ Ἰδομενεύς φησι περὶ δημαγωγῶν*, and considers that Idomeneus was the author of another work of which such was the title.

παρὰ τριάκοντα μόνας...ἀποφυγεῖν *sc.* *ψήφους*, 'that he was acquitted with a majority of only thirty votes.'

The expression may be regarded as tantamount to *παρ' ὀλίγον ἀπέφυγε*, which might mean according to the context 'he was within a little of being (but was not actually) acquitted' or 'he was acquitted but only just.' Cp. Eur. *Iph. T.* 871 *παρὰ δ' ὀλίγον ἀπέφυγες ὄλεθρον ἀνόσιον ἐξ ἐμᾶν δαϊχθεὶς χερῶν* i.e. 'you escaped by but a little a shocking death,' Thuc. VII 71, 3 *παρ' ὀλίγον διέφευγον*, 'they were only as far as a little from, within a hair's breadth of, escaping,' Plut. *Cleom.* c. 27, 3 *παρ' ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς μάχης συνέτυχε ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα κομισθῆναι παρ' αὐτόν*, 'these letters, as it happened, were near being conveyed to him, before (instead of after) the battle,' and Isaeus *or. de Pyrrh. her.* § 37 *ξενίας φεύγων...παρὰ τέτταρας ψήφους μετέσχε τῆς πόλεως* 'he was within four votes of being declared a member of the city.' The meaning of *παρά* in all these cases approaches to that of 'except,' 'but for,' which arises from that of dependence on a person or thing, rather than comparison.

28. **ὡς ἄχρι δίκης προελθόντος**, 'as having proceeded as far as a judicial trial.'

CHAPTER XVI

§ **1.** l. **1.** **ἡ...πολιτεία...ἐῶντος** for *ἡ πολιτεία φανερὰ ἦν οὖσα πολ. ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲν ἐῶντος*, 'his political conduct was plainly that of a man who would not leave any of the Macedonian's doings uncensured.' This appears from *Philippics* I and II and the speech *de Chersoneso*. For *τοῦ Μακεδόνος*, cp. Her. I c. 80 *ὁ Λυδός*, *Lydorum rex*, c. III *τὸν Ἀράβιον*, Dem. *de pace* § 5 *τὸν Κᾶρα* and see n. to c. 6, I.

4. **ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ**, 'on every occasion.'

5. **διακαίοντος** : see Gr. Ind. *s.v.*

6. **τὸν ἄνθρωπον**: There is nothing necessarily disrespectful in the expression, which Plut. not unfrequently uses, as well as *ἀνήρ*, as an equivalent to the simple personal pronoun. Cp. c. 11, 3; c. 14, 4; c. 31, 2; and see n. to *Them.* c. 12, 3. **πλεῖστος ἦν λόγος αὐτοῦ**, c. 12, 4, *Ti. Gr.* c. 5, 3 n.

7. **δέκατος** i.e. with nine others, viz. Aeschines, Aristodemus, Cimon, Ctesiphon, Dercyllus, Nausicles, Patrocles, Philocrates, Phrynon. The usual phrase is *δέκατος αὐτός*. **ἧκεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν**, as one of the envoys sent by Athens to Philip in the beginning of B.C. 346, to sound his inclination towards peace (Aeschin. *Ctes.* § 63). 'The Peace of Philocrates' was ratified on the part of Athens and her allies in April of the same year.

8. **ἤκουσε...πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνου λόγον**: Plutarch ascribes to Demosthenes what Aeschines claims for himself *de falsa leg.* § 38: *ὡς δ' εἰσήλθομεν καὶ ἐκαθεζόμεθα, ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν εἰρημένων ἐνεχείρει τι λέγειν ὁ Φίλιππος, πλείστην δὲ εἰκότως ἐποιήσατο διατριβὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους...πρὸς δὲ Δημοσθένην τὸν οὕτω καταγελάστως ἀπαλλάξαντα οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἑνός, οἶμαι, διελέχθη· τοῦτο δ' ἄρ' ἦν ἀγχόνη καὶ λύπη τούτῳ.*

9. **μετὰ πλείστης ἐπιμελείας** i.q. *ἐπιμελέστατα*. Cf. c. 14, 3; c. 29, 2.

§ **2.** l. **10.** **φιλοφροσύναις**, *officiis*, 'courtesies,' 'marks of friendliness.' Elsewhere it signifies 'entertainments,' as *Per.* c. 7, 4.

Cp. *Rom.* c. 8, 5 *ἐν περιβολαῖς καὶ φ.*, *Num.* c. 20, 4 *παρ' ἀλλήλους ἀδεῶς ἰόντων ὑποδοχαὶ καὶ φ. τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατεῖχον*, *Pomp.* c. 8, 2, *Anton.* c. 35, 3 *αὐτῶν καὶ φίλων ἀπαντήσεις καὶ φ.*, c. 46, 2 *τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἀσπασμοί τε καὶ φ. προσῆσαν*, *Mor.* 95 A *ἡ μὲν γὰρ (φιλία) συνέχει καταπυκνοῦσα ταῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ φ.*, 139 E *τὰς ἐντεύξεις καὶ φ.*, 678 D, Luc. *Imag.* c. 21 *φιλοφροσύνας φιλοφρονεῖσθαι τοσούτῳ ἡδίους τοῖς προσομιλοῦσιν*, Dion. Hal. *AR.* x 57 *ἀσπασμοὺς καὶ προσαγορεύσεις καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τῶν πενήτων φιλοφροσύνας* (*φιλοφρονήσεις* Vat.), Pind. *Ol.* VI 98. In other passages it has the meaning of 'gaiety,' 'mirth,' as *Sert.* c. 26, 4 *τοὺς συνόντας εὐτάκτοις παιδιαῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ φιλοφροσύναις ἐθίζοντος*, *Mor.* p. 123 E *ἐν συνουσίαις καὶ φιλοφροσύναις.*

11. αὐτὸν παρεῖχεν, *se ipsum praebuit*. See Gr. Ind. *s.v.* παρέχειν.

Cp. Aelian *var. hist.* VIII 12 παράδοξόν γε, οὐ γάρ; ἐκπεσόντος Δημοσθένους ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Αἰσχίνης ὁ Ἀτρομήτου ὁ Κοθωκίδης καὶ ἐνηυδοκίμει τοῖς Μακεδόσι καὶ πάμπολυ περιῆν τῶν πρέσβεων τῷ φρονήματι. αἰτία δὲ ἦν ἄρα τούτου τῷ Αἰσχίνῃ ἥ τε πρὸς Φίλιππον φιλία καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ δῶρα καὶ ὅτι πράως καὶ ἡδέως ἤκουεν αὐτοῦ ὁ Φίλιππος, μειλιχίῳ τῷ βλέμματι προσβλέπων καὶ ὑποφαίνων τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ εὔνοιαν· ἅπερ οὖν πάντα ἐφολκὰ ἦν ἐς τὴν παρρησίαν τῷ Αἰσχίνῃ καὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων εὔροιαν.

12. προσήγετο, *sibi conciliabat*, c. 17, 4. **τοὺς περὶ Αἰσχίνην**, 'Aeschines,' a periphrasis frequent in writers of the decadence. Cp. c. 30, 2; *Nic.* c. 1, 4. Philocrates, of the Athenian deme Hagnus, was an influential orator, of the Macedonian party. Together with Demosthenes he took a prominent part in bringing about the peace with Philip, which bears his name (l. 7).

13. ὅθεν, c. 1, 3; c. 5, 3.

14. κάλλιστον ὀφθῆναι: The active inf. is normally used to limit adjectives, though the passive, as here, would seem more natural, G. *MT.* § 763. Cp. Plat. *Soph.* 254 A οὐδαμῶς εὐπετὴς ὀφθῆναι.

15. ἠναγκάζετο βασκαίνων ἐπισκώπτειν, 'he could not refrain from cavilling maliciously at these praises.'

17. τὸ δὲ σπογγιᾶς εἴη: pred. genitive denoting property, characteristic, HA. *Gr.* § 732 d. Here again Plutarch appears to have had only a vague and imperfect recollection of two passages in the speech of Aeschines. The latter tells us (*de f. l.* §§ 51, 52) that, Ctesiphon having said of Philip before the popular assembly, on the return of the first embassy, that he was beautiful, endowed with a first-rate memory and a good speaker, finally a good trencher-man, Demosthenes had pleaded the falsity of his assertion; then (§ 112) that Demosthenes, at the time of the second embassy, in his desire to ingratiate himself with Philip, after having detailed his claims on the king's gratitude, tried to palliate the rudeness of which he had been guilty on the occasion in question by addressing Philip in the following terms:—οὐκ εἶπον ὡς καλὸς εἶ· γυνὴ γὰρ τῶν ὄντων ἐστὶ κάλλιστον· οὐδ' ὡς δεινὸς συμπιεῖν, σπογγιᾶς τὸν ἔπαινον ὑπολαμβάνων τοῦτον εἶναι· οὐδ' ὡς μνημονικὸς εἶ, σοφιστοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα νομίζων ἐργολαβοῦντος ἐγκώμια εἶναι.

βασιλέως δ' οὐδὲν ἐγκώμιον for οὐδὲν δὲ (τούτων εἴη) ἐγκώμιον βασιλέως.

CHAPTER XVII

§ **1.** l. **1. ἔρρεπε**, 'were inclining.'

2. μή, unclassical for *οὐ*. See Gr. Ind. *s. v.* and cp. c. 18, 1.

3. τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, 'to remain quiet,' 'keep the peace.' Cp. Lucian *Charon* § 3 ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν παρακελεύο-

μαι, Diod. Exc. Vat. XXIV p. 24 παρεκάλει τὸν Σόλωνα τὰς ἡσυχίας ἄγειν.

19 **5. εἰς Εὔβοιαν ἐξώρμησε...Φιλίππῳ**: In the Third *Philippic* (B.C. 341) Dem. drew the attention of the Athenians to the danger which menaced them from the establishment of tyrants subservient to Philip in Euboea, especially at Chalcis and Oreus. In the latter place Philistides (§ 33, § 59) had been established by a Macedonian force B.C. 342. As early as B.C. 350 Philip had sent troops to the aid of Callias of Chalcis against Plutarchus of Eretria, in response to whose application for assistance Phocion was sent, and defeated Callias and the Macedonians at Tamynae (Aesch. *Ctes.* § 85 ff, Plut. *Phoc.* c. 12 ff). This expedition must not be confounded with that of B.C. 341, which was also commanded by Phocion and directed against the two tyrants Cleitarchus and Philistides (Diodor. XVI 74), whom Philip had set up in Eretria and Oreus respectively.

8. ἐκείνου...γράψαντος...τοὺς Μακεδόνας: This is a reminiscence of a passage in Dem. *de cor.* § 87 ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ἐξηλάθη—τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις ὑφ' ὑμῶν, τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι, κἂν διαρραγῶσί τινες τούτων, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ,—ἕτερον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμὸν ἐζήτει.

§ 2. l. 9. Βυζαντίοις ἐβοήθησε: In B.C. 340 Philip laid siege to Byzantium, a Megarian colony in Thrace, on the Propontis and at the western entrance of the Thracian Bosporus. Demosthenes had gone thither in B.C. 341 to offer Athenian succour which was accepted, and next year Chares was sent with a fleet, but he made himself unpopular with the Byzantines, and was superseded by Phocion. At the same time assistance came to the Byzantines from Chios, Rhodes, Cos and other islands of Greece. Philip was compelled to raise the siege both of Perinthus and Byzantium, B.C. 339, and his troops were driven out of the Chersonese. This repulse to the successful career of Philip was one of the proudest feats of Dem. and he often recurs to it in the speech *de cor.* See § 80, §§ 88—91 and cp. *Phil.* III § 19 f, Plut. *Phoc.* c. 14, Diod. Sic. XVI 76.

10. Περινθίοις: Perinthus on the North of the Propontis, was obstinately besieged by Philip, and as obstinately defended B.C. 340, until relieved by the Persians. It was by sending aid to the Perinthians that the Byzantines drew upon themselves the King's resentment. **τοῦ Μακεδόνος**, c. 16, 1.

11. ἀφέντα τὴν ἔχθραν κτλ.: *de cor.* § 94.

12. τῶν περὶ τὸν...πόλεμον: The Social war broke out B.C. 357, when Chios, Cos, Rhodes and Byzantium revolted from Athens, and was terminated B.C. 355 by the Athenians acknowledging the independence of these states, Diod. XV 95.

13. ἑκατέροις = ὑφ' ἑκατέρων, tam Byzantiis quam Perinthiis (*Reiske*).

§ 3. l. 14. ἔπειτα, B.C. 340. Cp. *de cor.* § 244.

15. παροξύνων *sc. αὐτούς.* **συνέστησε**, 'united,' 'formed them into a league.' Field *Notes on Gr. Test.* p. 114.

16. ὥστε...προθύμως: Plutarch here again follows Dem. *de cor.* § 237 *ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκ τοιούτων ἐλαττωμάτων ἐγὼ συμμάχους μὲν ὑμῖν ἐποίησ' Εὐβοέας Ἀχαιοὺς Κορινθίους Θηβαίους Μεγαρέας Λευκαδίους Κερκυραίους, ἀφ' ὧν μύριοι μὲν καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι ξένοι, δισχίλιοι δ' ἱππεῖς ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων συνήχθησαν· χρημάτων δ' ὅσων ἐδυνήθην ἐγὼ πλείστων συντέλειαν ἐποίησα.* Cp. Aeschin. *Ctes.* § 95—§ 98, § 256.

18. ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων, 'without reckoning the forces composed of citizens from the different towns' as)(to mercenaries (*ξένων*). Cp. Dem. *de cor.* § 237, *Phil.* III § 48 *ὁπλίταις καὶ πολιτικοῖς στρατεύμασιν*, Aesch. *Ctes.* § 97, § 148.

19. μισθούς, 'pay to the several forces;' hence the plural, which is otherwise unusual. Cf. *Mor.* 400 F *τὰς δεκάτας φέρουσα καταθήσεται τῶν μισθῶν* i.e. on each occasion.

20. ὅτε καί, 'on which particular occasion it was that' etc. Plutarch often connects sentences by the relative particle of time —much in the Latin fashion—where an Attic writer would use the demonstrative (*τότε*). See note to c. 23, 4 and *Timol.* c. 11, 3.

Θεόφραστος, c. 10, 1. See also *Introduction.*

21. Κρωβύλον, 'Top-knot;' a nickname of the orator Hegesippus (c. 9, 5), given him by Aeschines (*Ctes.* § 118, *Tim.* § 64), possibly in allusion to his affectation in dressing his hair after the ancient fashion (Thuc. I 6). See however note 3 in Thirlwall's *Hist. of Greece* VI p. 23 ed. 1851, where it is suggested that effeminate and immoral habits may have procured him the sobriquet.

22. οὐ τεταγμένα σιτεῖται πόλεμος, *bellum demenso non pascitur*, 'war cannot be kept at a set diet, at so much a day.' In allusion to the fixed monthly allowance made to slaves, Terent. *Phorm.* I 1. This utterance was ascribed to Archidamus II at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, *κελευόντων τὰς εἰσφορὰς τάξαι τῶν συμμάχων αὐτόν* *Cleom.* c. 27, 1, *Crass.* c. 2, 8, *Mor.* 190 A, 219 A.

§ **4.** l. **24. ἐπηρμένης πρὸς τὸ μέλλον**, 'in a state of suspense in view of coming events,' 'on the tip-toe of expectation about what would happen.' Cp. Thuc. VIII 2, 1 *πρὸς τὴν ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας κακοπραγίαν εὐθὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες πάντες ἐπηρμένοι ἦσαν.*

29. προσαγαγέσθαι τῇ συμμαχίᾳ, 'to win over to the confederacy.' Cp. Dem. *de cor.* § 213; a different reason is given c. 18, 2.

30. δύναμιν ἐναγώνιον ἔχοντας, 'because they had a powerful force,' or 'a force ready to take the field.' See Gr. Ind. *s.v.*

§ **5.** l. **32. ἐπὶ προσφάτοις εὐεργετήμασι κτλ.**, 'because of his (Philip's) recent good offices to them in the Phocian war.' See c. 12, 1; c. 18, 2. After his victory over the Phocians Philip *Θηβαίους περαιτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου συμφέροντος ἰσχυροὺς*

κατεσκεύασεν, as Aeschines (*Ctes.* 80) tells the Athenians. Cp. Dem. *f. l.* § 127. For *πρόσφατος*, see my n. to *Them.* c. 24, 2 ed. 3.

34. τετιθασευμένους, *delenitos*, 'made subservient,' c. 5, 3.

36. ἀψιμαχίαις, 'petty quarrels.' See Gr. Ind. *s. v.* **ἀναξαινομένων ἑκάστοτε**, 'because they were ever and anon breaking out afresh,' like a wound just healed, when rubbed or scratched (*ξαινόμενον*). Cf. *Mor.* 610 D *ἐκ μικροῦ τοῦ γαργαλίζοντος καὶ κινοῦντος εἰς πολλὴν καὶ δυσχερῆ κάκωσιν ἀναξαινόμενον*, Polyb. 27, 6, 6 *τῆς διαφορᾶς ἀναξαινομένης*, Babr. *Fab.* 12, 23—4 *οἶκος δέ μοι πᾶς κἀπίμιξις ἀνθρώπων | μνήμην παλαιῶν συμφορῶν ἀναξαίνει* (*memoriam refricat*).

CHAPTER XVIII

§ **1.** l. **1. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά**, 'however,' merely marks the continuation of the narrative, without any sense of opposition. The rehearsal of the events which culminated in the decisive defeat of Athens at Chaeronea is given in detail by Dem. *de cor.* §§ 143—191. **τῆς περὶ τὴν Ἄμφισσαν εὐτυχίας** aut excitatum solummodo ab Amphictyonibus bellum adversus Amphissenses significat, aut si victos a Philippo Amphissenses, errasse Plutarchum statuendum est (*Winiewski*). Amphissa was the chief town of the Locri Ozolae, about seven miles from Delphi. Its inhabitants gave offence to the Amphictyonic Council by their sacrilegious cultivation of the plain—stretching from the southern declivity of Delphi to the sea, which had been devoted to the god of Delphi in the first Sacred War under Solon—and had repaired and reoccupied the harbour of Cirrha, though it had been solemnly doomed to perpetual desolation, and levied tolls on the pilgrims to the oracle. The Council thereupon passed a decree, upon the motion of Aeschines, the Athenian pylagoras, for destroying all the industrial labours of the Amphissaeans on the consecrated tract, and the next day they demolished the mole of the harbour, but on their return they were met by the Locrians and barely escaped with their lives. An expedition was subsequently sent—as the result of an extraordinary sitting of the Council—under Cottyphus to reduce them to obedience, and the Amphissians submitted to a fine which the victors laid on them. But as this remained unpaid, at the next general meeting of the Amphictyons (B.C. 339) Philip *ἡρέθη ἐκ τούτων ἡγεμών, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθέως δύναμιν συλλέξας καὶ παρελθὼν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρραίαν, ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ Κιρραίοις καὶ Λοκροῖς, τὴν Ἐλάτειαν καταλαμβάνει* (*de cor.* § 152). Cp. Aeschin. *Ctes.* § 113—§ 129.

2. Ἐλάτειαν: Elatea, the principal town of Phocis, commanded the passes from Mt Oeta into southern Greece, and was therefore a post of great military importance (Strabo *Geogr.* IX c. 3, 2; cp. Pierre Paris *Élatée*, Paris 1892). The alarm produced at Athens by its seizure is sublimely described by Demosthenes *de cor.* § 169 ff. The siege of Elatea is placed by A. Schäfer before the march to Amphissa.

4. μηδενός (unclassical) for *οὐδενός*. See on c. 17, 1.

5. μηδὲ ἔχοντος, 'and not having' in the sense of 'not knowing.' **6. ἐν μέσῳ,** c. 6, 1.

7. παρελθών, c. 8, 3. **τῶν Θηβαίων ἔχεσθαι,** 'to hold fast by the Thebans.' Cp. *de cor.* § 177 *φοβεῖσθαι πάντας ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων*, and for *ἔχεσθαι Mor.* 30 D *τῶν πρὸς τὸ ἦθος εἰρημένων ὠφελίμως ἔχονται.*

9. μετεωρίσας, 'buoying them up' with false hopes, [Dem.] *or.* XIII *περὶ συντάξεως* § 12 *μετεωρίσας καὶ φυσήσας ἡμᾶς κατέβη.*

10. μεθ' ἑτέρων *sc.* Hypereides, Mnesitheides, Democrates, Callaeschros, Dem. *de cor.* § 187. Cp. Diod. XVI 84 f.

§ **2.** l. **11. Μαρσύας**: Marsyas of Pella, step-brother of Antigonus Diadochus, king of Asia, was brought up with Alexander. He was a *γραμματοδιδάσκαλος*, author of a history of his own country—*Μακεδονικά*, in ten books—from the earliest times to the expedition of Alexander into Syria after his conquest of Egypt and foundation of Alexandria (B.C. 332). He was also one of the two commanders of the centre of the fleet under Demetrius Poliorcetes in the sea-fight off Salamis in the island of Cyprus against Ptolemy I king of Egypt (B.C. 306). See Diod. Sic. XX 50, C. Müller *Script. rer. Alex. M.* p. 40 f, Voss *de hist. graec.* p. 87.

12. Δάοχον Θεσσαλὸν: *Δάοχος Σισ[ύφου] Θεσσαλὸς ἐκ Φαρ[σά]λου CIG.* 2477 c: cp. *de cor.* § 295 *τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἕκαστοι πολίτας ἐξαπατῶντες καὶ διαφθείροντες, ἕως δούλους ἐποίησαν, Θετταλοὺς Δάοχος Κινέας Θρασύδαος.* There were 27 in all from 10 different states. **13. ἀντεροῦντας,** 'to reply to the Athenian deputies.'

14. διέφευγε, *latebat*, c. 2, 1.

16. τῶν Φωκικῶν...παραμενόντων, 'their wounds (i.e. losses) in the Phocian war abiding still fresh.' Cp. Aesch. *Ctes.* § 148 *ὁ Φωκικὸς πόλεμος δεκαετὴς γεγονὼς ἀείμνηστον παιδείαν αὐτοὺς ἐπαίδευσε.* The struggle of the Thebans with the Phocians, known as the second Sacred War (second with reference to that of B.C. 595) began in B.C. 355 and lasted ten years. The Phocians found allies in the Athenians and Spartans; the other members of the Amphictyonic league took the Theban side. In B.C. 346 Philip, at the invitation of the Thebans, without hindrance on the part of the Athenians who were tricked by false promises, came to the rescue and compelled the capitulation of the Phocian commander Phalaecus and destroyed all the Phocian towns.

§ **3.** l. **18. Θεόπομπος,** in the 53rd Book of his *Φιλιππικά*, Müller *FHG.* I p. 319. Aesch. *Ctes.* § 137 undervalues the influence of Demosthenes on their counsels. **ἐκριπίζουσα,** 'fanning into a flame' (*ἐκ, ῥιπίς*), c. 23, 1.

19. διακαίουσα, 'firing:' see Gr. Ind. *s.v.* **ἐπεσκότησε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν,** 'threw all other considerations into the shade.'

The verb occurs in its metaphorical sense *Olynth.* II § 20 *ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν ἐπισκοτεῖ τούτοις τὸ κατορθοῦν*, Isocr. *Demon.* § 6 *ῥώμη ἄνευ φρονήσεως ταῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιμελείαις ἐπεσκότησεν*, and in several fragments of the Comic poets, Antiphanes (III 148 Mein., II 119 Kock) *ἐπισκοτεῖ γὰρ τῷ φρονεῖν τὸ λαμβάνειν*, Eubul. (III 267 Mein., II 211 Kock) *τὸν οἶνον τῷ φρονεῖν ἐπισκοτεῖν*, Menander (IV 81 Mein., III 17 Kock) *τὸ δ' ἐρᾶν ἐπισκοτεῖ ἅπασιν.*

20. ὥστε καὶ φόβον...ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτούς, i.e. *ὥστε τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐπιλαθέσθαι καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων λογισμοῦ καὶ τοῦ φόβου τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου προσδοκωμένων δεινῶν καὶ τῆς ὀφειλομένης ἐκείνῳ χάριτος ἐπὶ τοῖς προσφάτοις εὐεργετήμασιν* (c. 17, 5) *Koraes.*

22. πρὸς τὸ καλόν, with *ἐνθουσιῶντας.* **ἐφάνη** *sc. ὄν.*

25. δεόμενον εἰρήνης: cp. Dem. *de cor.* § 218. **ὀρθήν**, *spe erectam*, 'hopeful,' rather than, as Graux, 'debout (prête à marcher).'

26. συνεξαναστῆναι *sc. τῷ Δημοσθένει*, 'was up in arms to help him.' Cp. c. 24, 1, *Cat. mi.* c. 59, 6 *τῆς Ῥώμης συνεξανισταμένης πρὸς πᾶσαν μεταβολήν*, Polyb. 5, 39, 4 *οὐδενὸς συνεξανισταμένου αὐτοῖς.* For *πρὸς τὸ μέλλον*, cp. c. 17, 4.

§ **4.** l. **27. τοὺς στρατηγούς**, 'the (Athenian) generals.'

29. τοὺς βοιωτάρχας: The Boeotarchs were originally the military heads of the national confederacy or Boeotian league, representing the different states who were members: at a later period, when Thebes had usurped the supremacy over the League, they were merely Theban officers. See *Dict. Ant.* I p. 300—2. **διοικεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἐκείνου**, 'were under his control and direction.' Cp. Aeschines *Ctes.* § 145.

21 **32. δυναστεύοντος**: Aeschines *Ctes.* § 145. **παρ' ἀξίαν**, 'beyond his deserts.' Cf. *Ages.* c. 37, 1, *Nic.* c. 26, 4, *Mor.* 59 A *ἄνθρωπον ἀπολλύουσιν οἱ παρ' ἀξίαν ἐπαινοῦντες.* **33. καθάπερ ἀποφαίνεται Θ.**, 'as T. represents.' Theopompus lost no opportunity of blackening the character of distinguished Athenians, who belonged to the popular party, and especially Demosthenes. See c. 13, 1; c. 21, 2, Müller *FHG* I lxxxv 1. **καὶ πάνυ**, *vel maxime.*

CHAPTER XIX

§ **1.** l. **1. τύχη δέ τις...τοῖς πραττομένοις**, 'some providence, it would seem, in the course (revolution) of events, in putting a period to Grecian independence just at that time, thwarted his designs.' Cp. *de cor.* § 271 where Dem. complains that Aeschines holds him criminally responsible for ill-success: *πόσῳ δικαιότερον τὴν ἁπάντων ὡς ἔοικεν ἀνθρώπων τύχην κοινήν, καὶ φοράν τινα πραγμάτων χαλεπὴν καὶ οὐχ οἵαν ἔδει, τούτων αἰτίαν ἡγεῖσθαι;*

2. εἰς ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ: cf. *Nic.* c. 19, 1, Thuc. VII 2, 4 *κατὰ τοῦτο καιροῦ*, Dem. *Ol.* II § 8 *καιροῦ πρὸς τοῦτο πάρεστι Φιλίππῳ τὰ πράγματα.*

5. **σημεῖα**, 'ominous signs,' 'prognostics.' See exx. in Gr. Ind. to *Timol.* p. 261[a].

6. **προὔφερε**, 'revealed.' Cp. Aesch. *Agam.* 964 *προὐνεχθέντος ἐν χρηστηρίοις*, Herod. V 63 (*τὴν Πυθίην*) *προφέρειν σφι τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλευθεροῦν*. See cr. n.

7. **ἐκ τῶν Σιβυλλείων** *sc. βίβλων*. For the various proposed etymologies of *Σίβυλλα*, see Bouché-Leclercq *Hist. de la Divination dans l'antiquité*, t. II p. 159 n. 1.

9. ΤΗ̂C ἘΠῚ ΘΕΡΜΏΔΟΝΤΙ ΜΆΧΗC ΚΤΛ.

'The battle by Thermodon that shall be,
Safe at a distance, I desire to see
Aloft, like eagle watching from the sky.
There does the vanquished weep, the victor die.'

10. **νεφέεσσι, ἠέρι** and **θηήσασθαι** are Epic forms for *νέφεσι*, *ἀέρι* and *θεάσασθαι*. The latter is the infinitive of purpose, G. *MT.* § 770.

§ **2.** l. **12.** **παρ' ἡμῖν**, 'in our (i.e. Plutarch's) country.'

13. **ἐμβάλλοντα εἰς**, 'discharging itself into.' Cp. *Pomp.* c. 33, 1 *τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμόν, ὃς...εἰς τὸ Κάσπιον ἐμβάλλει πέλαγος*, Plat. *Phaed.* 113 C *τὴν λίμνην ποιεῖ ὁ ποταμὸς ἐμβάλλων*.

Herodotus (IX 43), after quoting an oracle of Bacis on the battle of the Thermodon, adds that it is a river flowing *μεταξὺ Τανάγρης τε καὶ Γλίσαντος*. Pausanias also (IX 19, 3) makes mention of a mountain-stream (*χειμάρρους*) of that name descending from *ὄρος Ὕπατος καλούμενον ὑπὲρ Γλίσαντος*. Glisas is a town north-east of Thebes, mentioned by Homer (*Il.* II 504) in the same line with Plataea and celebrated as the place where the Epigoni fought against the Thebans and where the Argive chiefs, who fell in the battle, were buried. Cp. Strab. *Geogr.* IX c. 2, 31 *Γλίσσαντα δὲ λέγει κατοικίαν ἐν τῷ Ὑπάτῳ ὄρει, ὅ ἐστιν ἐν τῇ Θηβαϊκῇ πλησίον Τευμήσσου καὶ τῆς Καδμείας*.

14. The order is *ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἴσμεν οὐδὲν τῶν ῥευμάτων οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενον νῦν*.

20. **ταύτην διαλλάξαι τὴν προσηγορίαν**, 'received its present name (Haemon) in exchange.' Cp. *Cic.* c. 19, 2 *τὴν περιπόρφυρον ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καταθέμενος διήλλαξεν ἐσθῆτα τῇ συμφορᾷ πρέπουσαν*, Plat. *Rep.* X 620 B *ἀετοῦ διαλλάξαι βίον*. **Δοῦρις**: see *Introduction*. His explanation concerns the second oracle only.

§ **3.** l. **21.** **ἱστάντας σκηνήν**, 'while pitching a tent.'

22. **ἀνδριαντίσκον ... τετρωμένην**: 'C'était le dieu du fleuve Thermodon qui coule dans la Cappadoce et arrose la plaine de Thémiscyre, habitée par les Amazones; il s'appelle aujourd'hui Tenneh' (*Dübner*). Cp. *Thes.* c. 27, 6 *λέγεται δὲ καὶ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἑτέρας* (*sc.* *Ἀμαζόνας*) *ἀποθανεῖν καὶ ταφῆναι παρὰ τὸ ῥευμάτιον ὃ πάλαι μέν, ὡς ἔοικε, Θερμώδων, Αἵμων δὲ νῦν καλεῖται· περὶ ὧν ἐν τῷ Δημοσθένους βίῳ γέγραπται*.

23. ὑπὸ γραμμάτων τινῶν διασημαίνομενον, 'signifying by an inscription.' See Gr. Ind. *s. v.* *διασημαίνεσθαι.*

25. ἐπὶ τούτῳ, 'in reference to this.' **ᾄδεσθαι** depends on *φασὶ* l. 12.

22 **28. τηνεί**, doric form of *ἐκεῖ*, as *τῆνος* of *ἐκεῖνος*, *τοί* of *σοί*.

29. ταῦτα i.e. what the Sibylline oracle meant by the name 'Thermodon.' **διαιτῆσαι**, 'to decide.' See Gr. Ind. to *Sulla* p. 237 b.

CHAPTER XX

§ **1.** l. **2. τοῖς τῶν Ἑ. ὅπλοις ἐκτεθαρρηκώς**, 'because of his full confidence in the Greek forces.' Cp. *Rom.* c. 25, 1 *ἐκτεθαρρηκὼς τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ βαρυτέρῳ φρονήματι χρώμενος*, *Artox.* c. 20, 1, *Galb.* c. 7, 2.

4. λαμπρός, 'in a state of excitement,' 'transported with joy,' cp. *Cic.* c. 11, 1 *λαμπρὸς ἦν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν.* It is to be taken as proleptic predicate with *αἰρόμενος*; see on c. 12, 3 and cp. *Phoc.* c. 23, 4 *λαμπρὸς ἤρθη τοῖς πράγμασι*, *Eum.* c. 8, 1 *δόξῃ ἤρθη μέγας ἀπ' αὐτῆς* (*sc.* *τῆς νίκης*), Dem. *Ol.* III 8 *διὰ τούτων ἤρθη μέγας*, Arist. *Vesp.* 1023 *ἀρθεὶς μέγας.*

5. τοσούτων, *tot.*

7. τὴν Πυθίαν ... φιλιππίζουσαν, 'that the Pythian priestess was playing into the hands of Philip.' Cp. Cic. *de div.* II 118. Plutarch is here summing up Aeschines *Ctes.* § 130:—'Ἀλλ' *οὐ προὔλεγον, οὐ προεσήμαινον ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ φυλάξασθαι...Δημοσθένης δὲ ἀντέλεγε φιλιππίζειν τὴν Πυθίαν φάσκων.* For *προσέχειν* with dat., see n. to l. 33.

9. Ἐπαμεινώνδου: Epaminondas, the greatest general and statesman in the history of Thebes and the hero of Leuctra, was killed at Mantinea in the midst of the victory over the Lacedaemonians, in the 46th year of his age, B.C. 362.

10. πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, 'all things of this kind.' The article *may* stand before the demonstrative pronouns *τοιοῦτος*, *τοιόσδε*, *τοσοῦτος* (*τηλικοῦτος*, *τηλικόσδε*), as before adjectives, when the notion of a definite class is to be rendered prominent. **δειλίας προφάσεις**, 'as (merely) pretexts for cowardice.'

11. ἐχρῶντο τοῖς λογισμοῖς, 'exercised their own judgment,' 'followed the lights of reason.' Cp. *Arat.* c. 43, 6 *τῷ λογισμῷ χρώμενος*, *suo iudicio usus*, *Per.* c. 33, 5 *ἐχρῆτο τοῖς αὑτοῦ λογισμοῖς*, *Ages.* c. 37, 4 *χρῆσθαι τοῖς σεαυτοῦ λογισμοῖς ἔξεστιν*, *Caes.* c. 33, 5, *Oth.* c. 5, 3.

§ **2.** l. **12. μέχρι τούτων**, 'up to this point,' 'so far.'

13. ὁμολογούμενον οἷς εἶπεν, for *ὁ. τούτοις ἃ εἶπεν*, 'conformable to, in agreement with, his utterances.' Cp. c. 14, 2.

Cp. *Mor.* 974 F τοῖς μαθηματικοῖς κανόσιν ὁμολογούμενον, 1013 B ἐκείνῳ τι βουλόμενος λέγειν ὁμολογούμενον, Plat. *Timaeus* 29 C αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς ὁμολογουμένους λόγους, *legg.* V 741 A τὸ ταὐτὸν καὶ ὁμολογούμενον τιμῶντες κατὰ φύσιν, and below c. 26, 4 φωνὰς ὁμολογουμένας τοῖς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ νεανιεύμασιν.

15. **λιπὼν τὴν τάξιν**: Cp. Aeschin. *Ctes.* § 253 ἀνὴρ ῥήτωρ, ὁ πάντων τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος, ἔλιπε μὲν τὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τάξιν, ἀπέδρα δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, *de f. l.* § 148 ἐγράφης λιποταξίου καὶ τὸν γραψάμενον Νικόδημον τὸν Ἀφιδναῖον χρήμασι πείσας ἐσώθης.

16. **οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν...αἰσχυνθείς**, 'and having no feeling of shame for (not ashamed to belie) the inscription on his shield.'

17. **Πυθέας**: c. 8, 3.

18. ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, *quod felix faustumque sit*, 'with good luck' (not, as some render, 'to good luck'). The Athenians do not appear to have attached much importance to such an exhibition of cowardice (c. 21, 2), and, acc. to A. Gellius *noct. att.* XVII 21, Dem. himself had jested upon it:—*cum ei id quod fugerat probrose obiceretur, versu illo notissimo elusit:*—ἀνήρ, *inquit*, ὁ φεύγων καὶ πάλιν μαχήσεται.

§ **3.** l. 19. **παραυτίκα μὲν οὖν...μεθύων**: Two traditions were current in antiquity on the attitude of Philip after the victory of Chaeronea. Diodorus (probably after Theopompus; cp. Athenaeus IV c. 62, VI c. 76 p. 260 b, X c. 46, Polyb. VIII c. 11 f) and other writers concur with Plutarch in representing his treatment of the vanquished as brutal. The other account is represented for us by Justin and Aelian:—*non solita sacra Philippus illa die fecit; non in convivio risit; non ludos inter epulas adhibuit; non coronas aut unguenta sumpsit, et, quantum in illo fuit, ita vicit ut victorem nemo sentiret...atque ita inter tacitam laetitiam et dolorem hostium temperavit, ut neque apud suos exultasse neque apud victos insultasse videretur* Justin (IX c. 4); ἐπαρθεὶς τῇ εὐπραγίᾳ ὅμως λογισμοῦ ἐκράτησε καὶ οὐχ ὕβρισε Aelian (*Var. Hist.* 8, 15). Cp. Polyb. V 10, 1 ff.

20. **ἐξυβρίσας**: cp. Diod. XVI c. 87 λέγουσι δέ τινες ὅτι καὶ παρὰ τὸν πότον πολὺν ἐμφορησάμενος ἄκρατον καὶ μετὰ τῶν φίλων τὸν ἐπινίκιον ἄγων κῶμον διὰ μέσων τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐβάδιζεν, ὑβρίζων διὰ λόγων τὰς τῶν ἀκληρούντων δυστυχίας. The historian goes on to tell us that the orator Demades, one of the captives, expostulating with the conqueror on this occasion, said to him 'Βασιλεῦ, τῆς τύχης σοι περιθείσης πρόσωπον Ἀγαμέμνονος, αὐτὸς οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ πράττων ἔργα Θερσίτου,' and that the monarch was so much affected by the felicity of the rebuke (τῇ τῆς ἐπιπλήξεως εὐστοχίᾳ) that he not only changed his whole demeanour, throwing away his chaplets and τὰ συνακολουθοῦντα κατὰ τὸν κῶμον σύμβολα τῆς ὕβρεως, but set the orator at liberty and took him thereafter into his confidence.

κωμάσας ἐπὶ τοὺς νεκρούς, 'when he went fresh from his revels to see the bodies of the slain.'

κωμάζειν in the sense of *ebrium, comissabundum accedere*, is often found with the prepositions ἐπί, παρά, πρός. *Pyrrh.* c. 5, 5 κωμάσας παρὰ τὴν

ἀδελφήν, c. 13, 3 λαβὼν στέφανον τῶν ἑώλων καὶ λαμπάδιον ὥσπερ οἱ μεθύοντες αὐλητρίδος ὑφηγουμένης αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκώμαζεν, *Alcib.* c. 4, 5 μεθυσθεὶς ἐκώμασε πρὸς τὸν Ἄνυτον, *Amator.* c. 8, 2 κωμάζειν ἐπὶ θύρας, *Anton.* c. 26, 2 καί τις λόγος ἐχώρει διὰ πάντων, ὡς ἡ Ἀφροδίτη κωμάζοι παρὰ τὸν Διόνυσον, Athenae. p. 574 E ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἑταιρίδων θύρας ἐκώμαζεν, p. 348 C ὑποπιόντες ἐκώμασαν πρὸς αὐτόν, p. 435 D ἐκώμαζεν ὡς τοὺς πρέσβεις, Tryphiod. Ἰλίου ἅλωσις l. 314 Ἄτη εἰς πόλιν αὐτοκέλευθος ἐκώμασεν, Nonnus *Joann.* 18, 131 εἰς δόμον αὐχήεντος ἐκώμασεν ἡγεμονῆος, *Anthol. Pal.* 7, 186 θρῆνος δ' εἰς ὑμέναιον ἐκώμασεν, Aristid. II 313 κωμάζειν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν.

21. τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Δημ. ψηφ. This decree, or a document claiming to be such, is given *verbatim* in Dem. *de cor.* § 181—§ 187. It bears date on the 16th of the month Skirrophorion (June) under the archonship of Nausikles. This archon is a wrong or pseud-eponymous archon: and the document, to say nothing of its verbosity, implies that Athens was now about to pass out of pacific relations with Philip, and to begin war against him—which is contrary to the real fact...Droysen is right, in my judgment, in rejecting as spurious this, as well as the four documents which immediately precede it in the same speech, purporting to relate to the time just preceding the capture of Elateia by Philip (*Grote*).

22. πρὸς πόδα διαιρῶν, 'dividing according to the metre.'

23. ὑποκρούων, 'marking the beats,' 'beating time.'

24. Παιανιεύς, 'of the deme Paeania' in the phylê Pandionis. The line forms an iambic tetrameter catalectic i.e. deficient by one syllable.

25. ἐκνήψας, 'on coming to his sober senses,' 'recovering from his fit of drunkenness,' an unclassical word.

Cp. *Gen.* ix 24 ἐξένηψε δὲ Νῶε ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου, I *Kings* xxv 37 ὡς ἐξένηψεν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου Νάβαλ, *Joel* i 5 ἐκνήψατε οἱ μεθύοντες ἐξ οἴνου αὐτῶν, Lynceus ap. Athenae. IV p. 130 B παρειμένοι καὶ καρηβαροῦντες ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης, ὁπότε τι τῶν ἀγομένων θεασαίμεθα, πάντες ἐξενήφομεν, Aretae. *tard. m. causs.* I 5 p. 31 χάρμῃ δὲ ἐξένηψε τῆς δυσθυμίας. Hence, in a general sense, *ad sanam mentem redire* as in I *Cor.* xv 34 ἐκνήψατε δικαίως. Cp. ἀνανήψας II *Ep. Tim.* 2, 26.

26. ἐν νῷ λαβών, 'taking into consideration.' Cp. *Crass.* c. 5, 1 ᾧ τὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐν νῷ λαβεῖν ἐπῆλθεν, *Alex.* c. 69, 2 ταῦτα ἐμπαθῆ σφόδρα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐποίησεν ἐν νῷ λαβόντα τὴν μεταβολήν, *Mor.* 479 D οὐδ' ἐν νῷ πώποτε τὴν φύσιν, ὡς ἁγιώτατον καὶ μέγιστον ἱερόν, λαβόντος, 807 D ἐν νῷ λαβὼν τὰ ὀφλήματα κουφίσαι. Herod. (III 51) has νόῳ λαβεῖν and Plato both νόῳ ἔχειν and ἐν νόῳ ἔχειν.

27. ἐν μέρει μικρῷ μιᾶς ἡμέρας: cp. Aeschin. *Ctes.* § 148 Φιλίππου οὐ καταφρονοῦντος τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐδ' ἀγνοοῦντος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσύνετος) ὅτι περὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν ἐν ἡμέρας μικρῷ μέρει διαγωνιεῖται.

28. τοῦ σώματος, 'his life.' **ἀναρρῖψαι κίνδυνον,** 'to run the risk, to hazard, jeopardize,' a metaphor from the throw of dice, *Sol.-Popl.* c. 4, 2 ἀναρρίψας τὸν περὶ τῶν μεγίστων κίνδυνον, *Ag.-Pomp.* c. 4, 3 τὸν περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀναρρῖψαι κίνδυνον, *Dion-Brut.* c. 1, 3 ἀνέρριψεν ἑκὼν κίνδυνον τοσοῦτον, *Nic.* c. 11, 7,

with my note, *Brut.* c. 40, 2 *διὰ μιᾶς μάχης ἀναρρῖψαι τὸν περὶ τῆς πατρίδος κύβον.* [Lucian] *Enc. Dem.* c. 38 makes Philip say:—*ἐπὶ μιᾶς γε ταύτης ἡμέρας τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς κίνδυνον (Δημοσθένης) ἐπέστησέ μοι.*

§ **4.** l. **31.** **τοῖς σατράπαις**, i.e. *τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ σατράπαις*, 23
as the satraps on the west coast of Asia Minor were called.

33. **προσέχειν**, 'to give heed to,' cp. l. 7, c. 8, 4; c. 27, 2. The use of *προσέχειν* in this sense without *νοῦν* is frequent in Plut. and Polybius. It is also found in [Dem.] *Phil.* IV § 3 *προσέχουσιν ἅπαντες οὐχ οἷς εἴπομέν ποθ' ἡμεῖς δικαίοις...ἀλλ' οἷς ποιοῦμεν*; but in classical Greek it appears to have been limited to the phrase *προσέχειν ἑαυτῷ*, 'to mind oneself' (Arist. *Eccl.* 294, Xen. *Mem.* III vii 9), as Prof. L. Campbell points out in the *Classical Review*, Vol. V p. 456.

34. **περισπάσαι...τὸν Μακεδόνα**, 'to draw off, divert the attention of, the king of Macedonia (from Asia) and keep him employed (at home) by the troubles he created in Greece.' Cp. *Cam.* c. 9, 2 *ἄλλως τρίβειν τοὺς πολίτας καὶ περισπᾶν βουλόμενος*, *Fab. max.* c. 22, 1 *περισπάσαι τὸν Ἀννίβαν τεχνάζων*, *Philop.* c. 6, 3, *Tit. Flam.* c. 4, 4 *περισπᾶν τοῖς ἀκροβολισμοῖς τοὺς πολεμίους*, Diog. Laert. VI 57 *διαλεγομένου ποτὲ αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Ἀναξιμένους) τάριχον προτείνας περιέσπασε τοὺς ἀκροατάς.*

§ **5.** l. **36.** **ταῦτα...ἐφώρασεν**, 'discovered this fact.' Cp. *Cam.* c. 25, 1 *μὴ ληφθέντος αὐτοῦ φωράσωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι δι' αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν γραμμάτων) τοῦ Καμίλλου τὴν διάνοιαν*, Soph. *Fr.* (*Mor.* 463 D) *τὰ πλεῖστα φωρῶν αἰσχρὰ φωράσεις βροτῶν.*

37. **ἐν Σάρδεσιν**, at Sardis, the capital of Lydia, on the banks of the Pactolus.

39. **δηλοῦντα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν...χρημάτων.** We learn from Philostratus (*Lives of the Sophists* I 25, 7) that this furnished the Greek rhetoricians with two subjects:—1° *Δημάδης ἄγει ἐπὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην ταλάντων ν' δωροδοκίαν, ὡς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦτο Ἀθηναίοις ἐκ τῶν Δαρείου λογισμῶν ἐπεσταλκότος*, Demades brings an action for bribery against Demosthenes, Alexander having sent the proof thereof, extracted from the account books of Darius, that he had received 50 talents from the great King; 2° Defence of Demosthenes against the charge (*Δημοσθένης ἐξομνύεται τὴν δωροδοκίαν*). Cp. c. 14, 2.

CHAPTER XXI

§ **1.** l. **1.** **τῆς ἀτυχίας**, i.e. the defeat at Chaeronea, B.C. 338.

3. **ἐπεμβαίνοντες**, 'trampling on,' as on a fallen foe, taking advantage of his misfortune to insult him. Cp. *Cat. mi.* c. 29, 2 *τὸ μὴ ἐπεμβῆναι τῷ ἐχθρῷ μηδ' ἐνυβρίσαι κατὰ κράτος περιγενόμενον*, *Cic.* c. 19, 4 *πικρῶς ἐπεμβαίνειν ἀνδράσι γένει πρώτοις*, *Philop.* c. 16, 5 *παρ' ἀξίαν πεπραχόσιν ἐπεμβαίνων*, *Flamin.* c. 21, 2 *οὐδ' ἐπενέβη τῇ τύχῃ τοῦ ἀνδρός*, *Mor.* 59 D *συγγενῶν καὶ οἰκείων ἐπεμ-*

βῆναι δεινὸς ἁμαρτήμασι, 346 B Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχης ἀρθεὶς μέγας, ἐπεμβῆναι τῇ Σπάρτῃ πεσούσῃ...ἠθέλησε.

4. **κατεσκεύαζον**, *moliebantur*, *struebant*. **εὐθύνας**, 'audits,' when he gave in his official accounts; **γραφάς**, 'indictments,' 'actions for offences against the state')(δίκας, 'private suits.' Cp. Dem. *de cor.* § 249: γραφὰς εὐθύνας εἰσαγγελίας πάντ' ἐπαγόντων...μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τοὺς θεούς, δεύτερον δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς ἐσῳζόμην.

6. **ἀπέλυσεν** *sc.* τὸν Δημοσθένην, c. 24, 2. **τιμῶν διετέλει**, c. 13, 3.

7. **προκαλούμενος...εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν**, 'inviting him to take office in the government.' Cp. the testimony of Demosth. himself (*de cor.* § 248) μετὰ τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς ὁ δῆμος...περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἐμὰς γνώμας ἐχειροτόνει...ἔπειθ' αἱρούμενος σιτώνην ἐκ πάντων ἐμὲ ἐχειροτόνησεν.

§ **2.** l. **9.** **θαπτομένων**, 'when they were being interred.' It was the custom at Athens for the remains of those who had fallen on the field of battle to be brought back to their country, when possible; they were then interred with great pomp and ceremony at the public expense in the Outer Ceramicus, and a funeral oration was pronounced over them by some orator appointed to the task, ὃς ἂν γνώμῃ τε δοκῇ μὴ ἀξύνετος εἶναι καὶ ἀξιώματι προήκῃ (Thuc. II 34, 6). Such was the celebrated oration of Pericles (Thuc. II 34—47) pronounced over the first victims of the Peloponnesian war and that included in the *Menexenus* of Plato.

τὸν...ἔπαινον εἰπεῖν ἀπέδωκεν, 'assigned to him the task of pronouncing the panegyric,' which they would not have done had they been convinced of his cowardice. These details are borrowed by Plut. from Dem. *de cor.* § 285. The only genuine λόγος ἐπιτάφιος extant is that by Hypereides, *or.* 4 p. 52—71 ed. Blass. The *or.* 60 now extant, as the λόγος ἐπιτάφιος, in the collection of the works of Demosthenes is spurious, Dion. Hal. περὶ τῆς Δημ. δεινότ. c. 22.

ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, 'in honour of the men.' Cp. Thuc. *l. c.* λέγει ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔπαινον τὸν πρέποντα, Dem. *de cor.* § 285 χειροτονῶν ὁ δῆμος τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι, *Lept.* § 141 ἐπὶ τοῖς τελευτήσασι ταφὰς ποιεῖτε καὶ λόγους ἐπιταφίους (where see Sandys's note), [*Lys.*] 2, 1 τοῖς ἐπαγγείλασιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λέγειν, *ib.* 80 ἀγῶνες τίθενται ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ῥώμης καὶ σοφίας καὶ πλούτου.

10. **ἀγεννῶς**, c. 11, 3.

11. **γράφει καὶ τραγῳδεῖ**, 'narrates in inflated style,' with a view to dramatic effect. Cp. *Per.* c. 28, 1 Δοῦρις δ' ὁ Σάμιος τούτοις ἐπιτραγῳδεῖ, *Artox.* c. 18, 5 ταῦτα οὐκ ἄδηλον ὡς ἐπιτραγῳδεῖται τῇ Κλεάρχου μνήμῃ. **Θεόπομπος**: *Phil.* LIII *fr.* 263.

12. **τῷ τιμᾶν κτλ.**, 'showing by the fact of their paying their counsellor special honour and respect, that they did not repent of the counsels he had given them.' The construction of μεταμέλεσθαι with the dat. is not common: cp. *Timol.* c. 6, 4 τοῖς εἰρημένοις μὴ

μεταμέλεσθαι, Diod. Sic. XV 9 *μετεμέλοντο τοῖς πεπραγμένοις*, XVIII 2 *μεταμέλεσθαι ἔφη τοῖς πραχθεῖσι.*

§ **3.** l. **15.** **τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν οὐχ ἑαυτὸν...ἐπέγραφεν**, 'he did not put his own name to his decrees,' in the manner indicated c. 20, 3.

16. **ἐν μέρει**, 'turn and turn about,' sometimes one, sometimes the other: *ἐν τῷ μέρει* would mean 'in their proper turn.'

17. **ἐξοιωνιζόμενος**, 'avoiding as inauspicious.' Cp. *Mor.* 289 B *ἐξοιωνίσαντο τὸ γαμεῖν παρθένους ἐν ἱεραῖς ἡμέραις.* Aeschines (*Ctes.* § 159) pretends that the measure which Plut. ascribes to Dem. was not really due to his shame or timidity, but to a regulation made by the Athenians themselves: *ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ μὲν τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους* (after Chaeronea) *οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα εἰᾶτε τὸ Δημοσθένους ἐπιγράφειν ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ Ναυσικλεῖ τοῦτο προσετάττετε.* In § 157 Aeschines conjures up a vision of the Thebans adjuring the Athenians *μηδενὶ τρόπῳ τὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριον στεφανοῦν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὴν τύχην τὴν συμπαρακολουθοῦσαν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ φυλάξασθαι.*

20. **ἐπιβιώσας**, unclassical for *ἐπιβιούς*, 'surviving.' Cp. *Caes.* c. 69, 1 *Πομπηΐῳ δ' ἐπιβιώσας οὐ πολὺ πλέον ἐτῶν τεσσάρων*, and for the form, *κατεβίωσε* c. 24, 2. The battle of Chaeronea was fought B.C. 338; Philip was assassinated B.C. 336 when he was 46 years old and had reigned 24 years.

21. **τῷ τελευταίῳ...ἀποθεσπίσαι**, 'to have indicated propheti- 24
cally by the last of the verses.' See c. 19, 1. For *ἀποθεσπίζειν* (unclassical), cp. *Sull.* c. 34, 5, *Lucull.* c. 2, 3, *Num.* c. 4, 5, *Cat. ma.* c. 23, 2; c. 27, 3, *Dion.* c. 8, 2, *Brut.* c. 29, 7, *Mor.* 585 E, 589 E.

CHAPTER XXII

§ **1.** l. **1.** **ἔγνω...κρύφα**, 'had secret intelligence of.' So Aesch. *Ctes.* § 77 *πρῶτος διὰ τῶν κατασκόπων τῶν παρὰ Χαριδήμου πυθόμενος τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτήν.*

2. The order is:—**προκαταλαμβάνων τὸ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους θαρρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ μέλλοντα**, 'by way of prepossessing the Ath. with confidence for the future.' Büchsenschütz takes *τοὺς Ἀθηναίους* as the object of *προκαταλαμβάνων*, adopting the reading *τῷ θαρρεῖν*, which is found in some MSS. So Reiske *praeveniens Atheniensibus in fiducia rerum futurarum.*

5. **ὡς ὄναρ ἑωρακώς**=*ὄναρ ἑωρακέναι λέγων*: hence the inf. *προσδοκᾶν* by attraction, '(he said) that he expected:' others, less correctly, supply *ἦν* before *προσδοκᾶν*, 'was to be expected.' **ἀφ' οὗ**, 'in consequence of which.'

7. **οἱ τὸν Φιλίππου θάνατον ἀπαγγέλλοντες**: Cp. the slightly different version of the story by Aeschines (*Ctes.* § 77): *οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ τηλικοῦτος τὸ μέγεθος κόλαξ πρῶτος διὰ τῶν κατασκόπων τῶν παρὰ Χαριδήμου πυθόμενος τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτὴν τῶν μὲν θεῶν συμπλάσας ἑαυτῷ ἐνύπνιον κατεψεύσατο, ὡς οὐ παρὰ Χαριδήμου τὸ πρᾶγμα πεπυσμένος ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, οὓς μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιορκῶν νύκτωρ φησὶν ἑαυτῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι προλέγειν.*

8. **ἔθυον εὐαγγέλια**, 'they proceeded to sacrifice as a thank-offering for glad tidings.' Cp. Xen. *Hell.* I vi 37 *ἔθυε τὰ εὐαγγέλια*, IV iii 14 *ἐβουθύτει ὡς εὐαγγέλια*, Isocr. *Areop.* § 10 *ἐπὶ τοσαύταις πράξεσιν εὐαγγέλια δὶς ἤδη τεθύκαμεν*, Arist. *Eq.* 656 *ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς ἀγαθαῖσι ταῖς ἠγγελμέναις εὐαγγέλια θύειν ἑκατὸν βοῦς τῇ θεῷ.* Aesch. *Ctes.* § 160 *ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐτελεύτησε Φίλιππος, Ἀλέξανδρος δ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστη, πάλιν αὖ τερατευόμενος ἱερὰ μὲν ἱδρύσατο Παυσανίου, εἰς αἰτίαν δ' εὐαγγελίων θυσίας τὴν βουλὴν κατέστησεν* i.e. 'he made the council responsible (to Alexander) for a sacrifice for glad tidings.'

9. **Παυσανίαν** i.e. his *ἄγαλμα*. From Diodorus Siculus XVI 93 f we learn that Pausanias, the assassin of Philip, was a captain of the royal body-guard (*τοῦ βασιλέως σωματοφύλαξ*), to whom Philip had refused satisfaction for a gross outrage inflicted upon him by Attalus, one of his courtiers (*διὰ τὸ ἐᾶσαι ὑβρισθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἄτταλον*, Arist. *Pol.* VIII 10, p. 1311^b, 2). But the assassination was not without the guilty knowledge and complicity of others (Plut. *Alex.* c. 10, 4); in particular Olympias is designated as the prime mover, and even Alexander did not remain unassailed by suspicion. Alexander himself accused the Persian king of being the arch-contriver of the crime (Arrian *Anab.* II 14, 5).

§ **2.** l. **11.** **ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν**, 'six days before.' See G. § 161 Note, HA. *Gr.* § 721 and cp. Xen. *Cyr.* VI iii 11 with my note.

12. **ὡς Αἰσχίνης φησί**: *Ctes.* § 77 f *ἑβδόμην δ' ἡμέραν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῷ τετελευτηκυίας, πρὶν πενθῆσαι καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιῆσαι, στεφανωσάμενος καὶ λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα λαβὼν ἐβουθύτει καὶ παρενόμει, τὴν μόνην ὁ δείλαιος καὶ πρώτην αὐτὸν πατέρα προσειποῦσαν ἀπολέσας· καὶ οὐ τὸ δυστύχημα ὀνειδίζω, ἀλλὰ τὸν τρόπον ἐξετάζω. ὁ γὰρ μισότεκνος καὶ πατὴρ πονηρὸς οὐκ ἄν ποτε γένοιτο δημαγωγὸς χρηστός, οὐδ' ὁ τὰ φίλτατα καὶ οἰκειότατα σώματα μὴ στέργων οὐδέποθ' ὑμᾶς περὶ πλείονος ποιήσεται τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους, οὐδέ γε ὁ ἰδίᾳ πονηρὸς οὐκ ἄν ποτε γένοιτο δημοσίᾳ χρηστὸς κτλ.*

16. **ἐποιεῖτο**, 'he considered,' c. 8, 5; c. 13, 4. **τὸ ἀλύπως φέρειν ταῦτα**, 'the bearing such losses without repining.' Cp. *Tim.* c. 38, 1 *ὑπομείναντα τὴν συμφορὰν ἀλύπως.*

17. **ἀπεδοκίμαζεν**, *improbabat.*

§ **3.** l. **18.** The order is:—*ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι ὡς καλῶς εἶχε στεφανηφορεῖν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ κτλ.* **ἡμέρως...χρησαμένου**: Philip

had dismissed the Athenian prisoners after his victory at Chaeronea without ransom, and concluded peace with Athens on terms by no means onerous for that town. Cp. Aeschin. *Ctes.* § 57 who speaks of Philip as *τοὺς φιλανθρώπως καὶ μετρίως τοῖς τῆς πόλεως πράγμασι χρησαμένους.* Dem. (*de cor.* § 231), on the other hand, contrasts his *ὠμότης* when he had gained his object (*ἐν οἷς καθάπαξ τινῶν κύριος κατέστη*) with the *φιλανθρωπία*, which he assumed for the nonce, when he was compassing his further ends (*ἣν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν πραγμάτων περιβαλλόμενος ἐπλάττετο*). Polybius V 10 (after Theopompus) says of him:—*οὐ τοσοῦτον ἤνυσε διὰ τῶν ὅπλων ὅσον διὰ τῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας τῶν τρόπων κτέ.*

20. πταίσασιν αὐτοῖς, 'them (the Athenians) in their reverses.'

22. πρὸς τῷ νεμεσητῷ *sc. εἶναι*, 'in addition to its being odious,' 'besides the indignity of the thing.'

23. ἀγεννές *sc. ἦν.* **μέν** must be translated 'while,' the clause which it introduces being logically subordinate to that which follows, see on c. 9, 3. **ποιεῖσθαι πολίτην**: In ancient Greece to receive the right of citizenship in a foreign town did not imply any loss of the nationality to which one belonged. For example, the traveller Polemon (c. 200 B.C.), a native of Ilion, became a citizen of Samos, Sicyon and Athens without ceasing thereby to be a citizen of his own country (*Graux*).

24. πεσόντος ὑφ' ἑτέρου, 'when he has fallen by another's hand.'

25. ἐπισκιρτᾶν: c. 21, 1. **26. ὥσπερ αὐτοὺς ἀνδραγαθήσαντας**, 'just as if they had themselves accomplished a feat of valour,' c. 27, 1.

§ **4.** l. 27. **μέντοι** answers to the *μέν* of l. 18, cp. c. 1, 1; c. 2, 1. **τὰς οἴκοι τύχας**, 'domestic misfortunes.'

30. τίθεμαι...ψυχῆς, 'I consider it to be the act of a patriotic (or 'statesmanlike') and manly spirit.' Cp. c. 14, 2, 4.

πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἱστάμενον, 'keeping steadily in view,' 'addressing oneself to the good of the community.' Cp. Soph. *Ant.* 299 *πρὸς αἰσχρὰ πράγμαθ' ἵστασθαι* ('to set themselves to deeds of shame'), where Prof. Jebb quotes Plat. *Rep.* p. 452 E *πρὸς ἄλλον τινὰ σκοπὸν στησάμενος ἢ τὸν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ*, 'setting himself to some other aim than that of goodness,' or, perhaps, as Reiske, *discedentem ad illam partem ubi est respublica* (h. e. *decus et salus reip.*) *ibique stantem*, 'standing by, rallying to the commonwealth,' as in Thuc. VI 56, 4 *πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων γνώμην ἀεὶ ἕστασαν*, 'sided with their policy,' III 11, 3 *ἐχόντων ἔτι...πρὸς ὅ τι χρὴ στῆναι*, VII 44, 3.

31. τὰ οἰκεῖα...τοῖς δημοσίοις ἐπανέχοντα, not, as Reiske, *ob publicos casus, quo iis servire possit, affectiones privatas reprimentem atque compescentem publicis successibus*, nor, as Graux, *fulcientem et sustinentem*, but 'supporting, anchoring one's private doings and sufferings by those of the public,' as if *ἀνέχοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις.* See Shilleto on Dem. *f. l.* § 57.

32. τηρεῖν τὸ ἀξίωμα, 'to maintain one's dignity.' The indefinite subject is implied before the infinitive.

34. προσώπων, 'characters.'

36. πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν 'in view of its subject.' By *ὁ ἀγών* is meant 'the scenic representation,' 'the piece,' c. 29, 2.

§ **5.** l. **37. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων**, 'apart from (i.e. besides) this.'

41. ἀντιτύπων *sc. χρωμάτων*, 'colors hard in tone,' 'glaring,' 'dazzling,' properly said of surfaces which repel i.e. reflect the light. Cp. *Demetr.* c. 1, 1, *Pericl.* c. 1, 3.

45. ποριζόμενος = *εἰ πορίζοιτο*. Translate: 'from what source could a man derive better consolation for domestic events than by blending them, when his country is prosperous, with the public events (making the two, so to speak, count together), so that the fusion of the two may keep the less happy circumstances (of the individual) out of sight by means of the better fortune (of the state).' Cp. *Mor.* 469 A *ἀγαθὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀβουλήτοις συμπτώμασι πρὸς εὐθυμίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ παρορᾶν ὅσα προσφιλῆ καὶ ἀστεῖα πάρεστιν ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ μιγνύντας ἐξαμαυροῦν τὰ χείρονα τοῖς βελτίοσιν. νῦν δὲ τὰς μὲν ὄψεις τῶν ἄγαν λαμπρῶν τιτρωσκομένας ἀποστρέφοντες ταῖς ἀνθηραῖς καὶ ποώδεσι χρόαις παρηγοροῦμεν.* The reading in Photius *ἐναφανίζουσαν*, 'merging in,' is adopted by Graux, but I cannot find another instance of the active of this verb; for some reason or other, the passive alone seems to have been used.

46. προήχθημεν: for the plural, cp. c. 1, 3; c. 2, 2.

47. ἐπικλῶντα, 'softening, touching the hearts.' See my note to *Them.* c. 10, 5.

CHAPTER XXIII

§ **1.** l. **2. ἀναρριπίζειν** (*ῥιπίς*, *flabellum*), *refocillare*, 'to fan into a flame,' as in *Mor.* 611 F *ὥσπερ τὸ πῦρ, ἄν τις ἀποσβέσας εὐθὺς ἐξάπτῃ, πάλιν ἀναρριπίζεται*, *Brut.* c. 30, 5 *πνεῦμα λαμπρὸν ἀνερρίπιζεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις τὴν φλόγα.* Hence metaphorically *denuo suscitare*, 'to rekindle,' as *Sull.* c. 6, 1 *ἡ στάσις ἀνερριπίζετο*, *Caes.* c. 44, 4 *συνεκκαίει τὸν θυμὸν ἐκ πάντων ἀναρριπιζόμενον*, *Mor.* 758 F *τὸ ποιητικὸν καὶ μουσικὸν ἐξώρμησε καὶ ἀνερρίπισεν*, 793 B *τὸ θερμὸν ἀναρριπίζουσι*, 975 F, 383 E, 444 C *πάρεστιν* (*ὁ λόγος*) *ἐξεγείρων καὶ ἀναρριπίζων*, 513 E *ἡ χαρὰ ἀναρριπίζουσα πολλάκις ἑαυτήν*, Lucian *Anachars.* § 21 *τὴν ψυχὴν μουσικῇ...ἀναρριπίζομεν.*

συνίσταντο: c. 17, 3.

3. τῇ φρουρᾷ, 'the garrison' which Philip had placed in Thebes the day after the battle of Chaeronea, Diod. XVI 87. The attack took place in B.C. 335, cp. Diod. XVII 3:—*ὁμοίως δὲ τούτοις* (*sc. τοῖς Ἀμβρακιώταις*) *Θηβαῖοι τὴν μὲν ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ φρουρὰν ἐκβαλεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο, τῷ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μὴ συγχωρεῖν τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγε-*

μονίαν. Diodorus says nothing of the subsequent destruction of the city by Alexander. Cp. Justin IX 4.

4. ὅπλα—συμπαρασκευάσαντος, 'helping them to provide arms:' Diodorus (XVII 8) *παρὰ Δημοσθένους ὅπλων πλῆθος ἐν δωρεᾷ λαβόντες τοὺς ἀνόπλους καθώπλιζον* (*sc.* *οἱ Θηβαῖοι*).

§ **2.** l. **7. τὸ βῆμα κατεῖχεν**, 'was in possession of the bema (or raised place for speakers in the ecclesia') i.e. ruled supreme in the popular assembly, c. 7, 1. Cp. Ar. *Pac.* 680 *ὅστις κρατεῖ νῦν τοῦ λίθου τοῦ 'ν τῇ πυκνί.* On the Pnyx and bema, see *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geogr.* I 282—3 and cp. *Them.* c. 19, 3 ed. 3 with my note.

9. ἐκεῖθεν *sc. ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας.* **ἐπεγείρων**, 'by way of exciting.' The participle of the imperfect is more often used in a conative sense than the present.

10. παῖδα κτλ. Cp. *Alex.* c. 11, 3 *Θηβαίους δ' ἀφεστάναι πυθόμενος καὶ συμφρονεῖν αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίους εὐθὺς ἦγε διὰ Πυλῶν τὴν δύναμιν, εἰπὼν ὅτι Δημοσθένει παῖδα μὲν αὐτόν, ἕως ἦν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ Τριβαλλοῖς, ἀποκαλοῦντι, μειράκιον δὲ περὶ Θετταλίαν γενόμενον, βούλεται πρὸς τοῖς Ἀθηναίων τείχεσιν ἀνὴρ φανῆναι.* Alexander was born B.C. 356 and therefore now 20 years old (*Alex.* c. 10, 5). **Μαργίτην**: Margites is the hero of an old satirical poem ascribed to Homer—the boy who, though fully grown up, had never attained the sense or wits of a man, who knew a great many things but nothing well (*πόλλ' ἠπίστατο ἔργα κακῶς δ' ἠπίστατο πάντα*). Hence the name came to be used as a synonym for 'an imbecile.' Aesch. *Ctes.* § 160 *ἐπωνυμίαν δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Μαργίτην ἐτίθετο*, where Simcox observes 'there is a sneer at Alexander, as a carefully educated and universally accomplished school-boy; perhaps also especially at his desire to emulate Achilles, the hero of the *Iliad*, whereas he is more like the silly hero of the *Margites*.' **ἀποκαλῶν**, 'calling him contemptuously.' Cp. c. 9, 1, 5; c. 29, 4 and see my n. to *Tib. Gr.* c. 21, 3.

11. τὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν θέμενος, 'after he had settled matters in his country' i.e. Macedonia. Cp. *Phoc.* c. 17, 3 *εἰ ἡσυχίας ὀρέγεται, θέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον*, Thuc. I 25, 1 *ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἴχοντο θέσθαι τὸ παρόν*, V 80, 1 *κοινῇ τὰ πράγματα τιθέμενοι*, Plat. *Rep.* 604 C *ὥσπερ ἐν πτώσει κύβων πρὸς τὰ πεπτωκότα θέσθαι τὰ αὑτοῦ πράγματα.*

In this sense we generally find an adverb added or some expression equivalent to an adverb, as *Mor.* 826 B *εὖ τιθέμενος τὸ οἰκεῖον*, *Cam.* c. 4, 2 *εἴ τι δύναιτο θέσθαι τῶν ἰδίων ἄμεινον ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς νοσοῦσιν*, *Marcell.* c. 22, 3 *πάντα θεμένοις καλῶς*, Plat. *Rep.* 647 A *τὰ οἰκεῖα εὖ θέμενον*, Marc. Anton. VI § 2 *τὸ παρὸν εὖ θέσθαι*, Diod. Sic. XX 24 *ἀσφαλῶς θέσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχήν*, Thuc. IV c. 17, 3 *ὑμῖν εὐτυχίαν τὴν παροῦσαν ἔξεστι καλῶς θέσθαι*, I c. 31, 3 *θέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ᾗ βούλονται*, c. 82, 5 *πόλεμον...οὐ ῥᾴδιον εὐπρεπῶς θέσθαι*, IV c. 59, 3 *τὰ ἴδια ἕκαστοι εὖ βουλευόμενοι δὴ θέσθαι*, VI 11, 5 *τὸ σφέτερον ἀπρεπὲς εὖ θήσονται* (=*τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀπρεπῆ ὄντα εὖ θ.*), Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 672 *θέμενος εὖ τἀκεῖ*, *Hipp.* 709 *τἀμὰ θήσομαι καλως*, Isocr. 20, 18 *τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν εὖ τίθεσθαι.*

παρῆν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν: For *εἰς* with verb of repose, implying anterior motion, see HA. *Gr.* § 788.

12. ἐξεκέκοπτο, 'had been knocked out of them.'

Cp. *Lucull.* c. 7, 2 τούτων τὸ θράσος *ἐξέκοψε*, *Mor.* 21 C τὴν θρασύτητα τῆς ἀκολασίας *ἐξέκοψεν*, 26 E τὸν θυμὸν *ἐκκόψαι* μὴ δυνηθείς, 46 B τρυφὴν *ἐκκόψειεν*, 65 E τὸ φίλαυτον *ἐκκόπτειν* ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὴν οἴησιν, 92 D τὸ χασμῶδες *ἐκκόψει* καὶ ῥάθυμον, 767 F *ἐκκόψας* τὸ θράσος, 762 E *ἐκκέκοπταί* οἱ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς γαῦρον, 1105 A *ἐκκόπτει* τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, Lucian *Nigrin.* § 15 *ἐκκόπτειν* ἑαυτῶν τὴν οἴησιν ('self-conceit'), Plat. *Charm.* 155 C καί μου ἡ πρόσθεν θρασύτης *ἐξεκέκοπτο*.

26 **14. ἀπεσβήκει**: 'had been quenched,' 'had lost his ardour.' The pluperfects mark the rapidity with which on the appearance of Alexander their courage had fallen.

15. καθ' αὑτούς, *per se soli*, 'by themselves,' 'left to their own resources,' c. 12, 3, *Mor.* p. 48 A γενόμενοι *καθ' αὑτούς*, 672 F *καθ' ἑαυτὰς* γιγνόμεναι. **τὴν πόλιν ἀπέβαλον**, in October B.C. 335.

§ **3.** l. **17. ἀπεστάλη...πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον**: According to Diodorus (XVII 4 *πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον πρέσβεις ἐξαπέστειλαν ἀξιοῦντες συγγνώμην ἔχειν εἰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μὴ ταχέως συγχωροῦσιν*) and Justin (XI 3, 4), there were two embassies sent to Alexander; the first, of which Demosthenes was a member, was prior to, not after, the fall of Thebes. Plutarch confounds the proceedings of this year with those of the succeeding year.

19. ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ἀνεχώρησεν κτλ.: cp. Aesch. *Ctes.* § 161 *ἤδη δ' ἐψηφισμένων Θετταλῶν ἐπιστρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν καὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου τὸ πρῶτον παροξυνθέντος εἰκότως, ἐπειδὴ περὶ Θήβας ἦν τὸ στρατόπεδον, πρεσβευτὴς ὑφ' ὑμῶν χειροτονηθείς, (ὁ Δημοσθένης) ἀποδρὰς ἐκ μέσου τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος* (i.e. when halfway across the border) *ἧκεν ὑποστρέψας κτλ.* Diod. XVII 4 suggests two reasons for his return, *ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρέσβεσι καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐκπεμφθεὶς οὐ συνῆλθε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ἀνέκαμψεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, εἴτε διὰ τὰ πεπολιτευμένα κατὰ Μακεδόνων φοβηθείς, εἴτε βουλόμενος τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Περσῶν ἄμεμπτον αὑτὸν διαφυλάττειν. πολλὰ γὰρ χρήματά φασιν αὐτὸν εἰληφέναι παρὰ Περσῶν ἵνα πολιτεύηται κατὰ Μακεδόνων· περὶ ὧν καὶ τὸν Αἰσχίνην φασὶν ὀνειδίζοντα τῷ Δημοσθένει κατά τινα λόγον τὴν δωροδοκίαν εἰπεῖν 'Νῦν μέντοι τὴν δαπάνην ἐπικέκλυκεν αὐτοῦ τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον κτλ.'*

22. ἐξῄτει πέμπων: The best authors use *ἐξαιτεῖν* for *deposcere aliquem in poenam* and *ἐξαιτεῖσθαι* for *deprecari*, but Plutarch and late authors do not observe this rule, as *Pyrrh.* c. 3, 3 *ἐξαιτουμένων* τῶν πολεμίων (τὸ τέκνον) οὐκ ἐξέδωκεν. Arrian (*Anab.* I 10, 4) mentions nine:—Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hypereides, Polyeuctus, Chares, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diotimus and Moerocles, adding τούτους γὰρ αἰτίους εἶναι τῆς τε ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ ξυμφορᾶς τῇ πόλει γενομένης καὶ τῶν ὕστερον ἐπὶ τῇ Φιλίππου τελευτῇ πλημμεληθέντων ἔς τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐς Φίλιππον· καὶ Θηβαίοις δὲ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀπέφαινεν αἰτίους οὐ μεῖον ἢ τοὺς αὐτῶν Θηβαίων νεωτερίσαντας. Plutarch is not consistent, since in *Phoc.* c

17, 2, only four names are given, those of Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hypereides and Charidemus. Diodorus (XVII 15) says there were ten, but gives the names of Demosthenes and Lycurgus only, as the two most distinguished.

23. **Ἰδομενεύς**: c. 15, 3. **Δοῦρις**: *ἐν πέμπτῃ Μακεδονικῶν* (Athenae. VI p. 249 C). See c. 19, 3 and *Introduction*.

26. **Δημοσθένην**: Dem. *de cor.* § 41 *ἐγώ...ὃς εὐθὺς ἐξῃτούμην ὑπὸ τοῦ ταῦτα πράξαντος*, *vit. X orr.* p. 847 B, C *συνήργησε δὲ (Δημοσθένης) καὶ Θηβαίοις πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πολεμοῦσι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἐπέρρωσεν ἀεί· διόπερ Θήβας κατασκάψας ἐξῄτει παρ' Ἀθηναίων Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτόν, ἀπειλῶν εἰ μὴ δοίησαν.*

Πολύευκτον, c. 10, 2. **Ἐφιάλτην**: Ephialtes was one of the two anti-Macedonian military leaders, the other being Charidemus (see below, l. 27). He was the spokesman of the envoys sent from Athens to the Persian king Ochus B.C. 341, to solicit aid against Philip, when Demosthenes went on a similar mission to the Chersonese and Byzantium and Hypereides to Chios and Rhodes. (The story given in the *vit. X orr.* p. 848 A E that on this occasion he received from the king a large sum of money for the *δημαγωγοί*, and that he gave some to Demosthenes and Hypereides, does not tally with the statement of Aeschines 3, 238 p. 87 and may be dismissed as mythical.) Like Charidemus, when banished at the instance of Alexander, he took service under Darius (Dinarch. *c. Dem.* § 33) and distinguished himself by his bravery and self-sacrifice in the defence of Halicarnassus, when besieged by Alexander B.C. 334 (Diod. XVII 26 f).

Λυκοῦργον: Lycurgus (B.C. 408—B.C. 326), son of Lycophron, of the house of the Eteo-Butadae, was a pupil of Isocrates. He owed his place among the ten great Attic orators chiefly to his prominence as a patriot. The special function he discharged was that of steward of the public treasury for a period of office which was thrice renewed, B.C. 338 to B.C. 326. Of his fifteen speeches only one is now extant, that *Against Leocrates* an Athenian citizen, whom he indicted for treason (*προδοσίας*), because he had fled from Athens on the day that brought the fatal news of Chaeronea. Jebb's *Attic Orators* II 375 ff. For the fact of his extradition to Alexander, cp. the decree about him in *Corp. Inscr. Att.* II 240 *δι' ὅπερ ἐξαιτή<σαντος αὐτὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου ὁ δ>ῆμος ἀπέγνω μὴ συγχωρῆ<σαι μηδὲ λόγον ποιεῖσθαι τῆς> ἐξαιτήσεως*, Demosth. *Epist.* III 4 *ὅμως οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐκεῖνος εἴχετο τούτων ἃ συμφέρειν ἡγεῖτο τῷ δήμῳ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀόκνως καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων ἃ προσῆκ' ἦν φανερός, ἐφ' οἷς εὐθὺς ἐξῃτεῖθ', ὡς ἅπαντες ἴσασιν.*

27. **Μοιροκλέα**, c. 13, 5. Harpocration *s.v.* *Μοιροκλῆς, Σαλαμίνιος, τῶν παρ' Ἀθηναίοις οὐκ ἀφανῶς πολιτευσαμένων.* A psephism of his *κατὰ τῶν τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἀδικούντων* is referred to in [Dem.] *or.* LVIII *c. Theocrin.* § 53, § 56, and he is mentioned in the *de f. l.* § 293. See A. Schäfer *Dem.* I 174; III 27, 292, 318. **Δήμωνα**, the son of a sister of Demosth. (c. 27, 4), who must have

been very young at the time. This has led some to suppose that we should substitute the name Diotimus (Διοπείθους Εὐωνυμεύς), known as a wealthy patriot from the *de cor.* § 114, § 116, where his name is coupled with that of Charidemus as having received an expression of gratitude from the people in requital for a present of shields that he had made, and *or. c. Mid.* § 208, and mentioned as one of the Ten by Arrian *Anab.* I 10, 4. See A. Schäfer II p. 329, III p. 139 n. Callisthenes, of Phalerum, the orator, is mentioned by Dem. (*de cor.* § 37, *de f. l.* § 86) as the author of a psephism for the σκευαγωγία at the close of the Phocian war. He is probably the same person whose name is coupled by the comic poet Timocles (Athenae. VIII p. 341 E, F, Mein. *FCG.* III 591, Kock II 452) with those of Demosthenes (see above c. 9, 4), Moerocles, Demon and Hypereides, as having received bribes from Harpalus:—

A. καὶ Μοιροκλῆς εἴληφε χρυσίον πολύ.
B. ἀνόητος ὁ διδούς, εὐτυχὴς δ' ὁ λαμβάνων.
A. εἴληφε καὶ Δήμων τι καὶ Καλλισθένης.
B. πένητες ἦσαν, ὥστε συγγνώμην ἔχειν.
A. ὅ τ' ἐν λόγοισι δεινὸς Ὑπερείδης ἔχει.
B. τοὺς ἰχθυοπώλας οὗτος ἡμῶν πλουτιεῖ,
ὀψοφάγος, ὥστε τοὺς λάρους εἶναι Σύρους.

He is also ridiculed by Antiphanes ap. Athenae. VIII p. 338 F (Mein. *FCG.* III 12, Kock II 20).

Χαρίδημον: This was probably Charidemus of Oreus (Euboea), a condottiére, who placed his services at the command of the Athenians under Iphicrates in B.C. 367, by whom his military talent and energy was recognised and appreciated. He entered the service of Cotys, King of Thrace, father-in-law of Iphicrates B.C. 360. On the murder of Cotys, he attached himself to his son Cersobleptes, married one of the princesses and fought on his behalf for the possession of the Chersonesus, but ended by ceding it to Athens. He afterwards devoted his life to the anti-Macedonian cause. When his surrender was demanded by Alexander he fled to Asia, and took service under Darius, by whose orders he was put to death just before the battle of Issus B.C. 333 (Dinarch. *c. Dem.* § 32) for openly opposing offensive operations. The speech of Dem. against Aristocrates—which contains a sketch of the previous history of Charidemus—was written for one Euthycles of Thria, who accused Aristocrates of proposing an illegal decree by which special privileges were to be conferred on Charidemus, as a testimony of gratitude for his important services to Athens.

§ **4.** l. **28.** **ὅτε καί** semper fabellam undecumque decerptam et in narrationem continuam inculcatam praecedunt, cp. c. 17, 3; c. 27, 5 (*F. Gebhard*).

30. **ἐξέδωκε**, 'gave up.' The subject, of course, is 'the sheep,' not, as Büchsenschütz takes it, 'the shepherd.' See Babrius *Fab.* XCIII ed. Rutherford, Aesop. *Fab.* 268 ed. Halm.

33. **Μακεδόνα μονόλυκον**, 'the solitary wolf of Macedonia.' *μονόλυκος* was the name given to a peculiar kind of rapacious wolf, which preys separately and upon men, as Aristotle informs us (*Hist. Anim.* VIII 6 (5):—*ἀνθρωποφαγοῦσι δὲ οἱ μονοπεῖραι τῶν λύκων μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ κυνηγέσια*). Cf. Lucian *epist. Saturn.* 34 *τοὺς μονιοὺς τῶν λύκων*, *Tim.* 42 *μονήρης ἡ δίαιτα καθάπερ τοῖς λύκοις.*—Immanem hominis ambitionem, qui nec aequalem potentiae neque participem gloriae ferre potuit, depingere voluit Demosthenes (*Barton*).

προσηγόρευσεν, un-attic for *προσεῖπεν.*

34. **ἔτι**, *praeterea.*

35. **δεῖγμα**, 'a sample.' **τοὺς πολλούς** *sc. πυρούς.*

36. **ἐν ἡμῖν**, 'in our persons.' Cp. *Mor.* 148 E *Θρασύβουλον ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸν πέμψαντα προπηλακίσαι βουλόμενος.* **λανθάνετε... συνεκδιδόντες**, 'you are unconsciously delivering yourselves up at the same time.' Cp. Diod. XVII 15, who tells us that the people indignantly repudiated Phocion's advice to let the persons whose surrender was demanded sacrifice themselves to the safety of the city, but *Δημοσθένους λόγον πεφροντισμένον διελθόντος εἰς συμπάθειαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν προαχθεὶς φανερὸς ἦν σῴζειν βουλόμενος τοὺς ἄνδρας.* Cp. Liv. IX 18 (*Alexander*) *adversus quem Athenis, in civitate fracta Macedonum armis, cernente tummaxime prope fumantes Thebarum ruinas, contionari libere ausi sunt homines, id quod ex monumentis orationum patet.*

37. **αὐτοὺς** for *ὑμᾶς αὐτούς*, cp. c. 1, 3.

§ **5.** l. **37.** **Ἀριστόβουλος** called **ὁ Κασσανδρεύς,** because Cassandrea—the town founded by Cassander in B.C. 315 on the site of the ancient Potidaea (Macedonia)—was the place where in his old age after the battle of Ipsus he composed his history of Alexander the Great. It was not so much a narrative of the campaign, as a description of the physical features and the manners of the countries conquered by Alexander, whom he accompanied in his Indian campaign (Arrian *Proem. Anab.*). Aristobulus is frequently quoted by Strabo, as an authority, in his *Geography*, and he was one of the principal sources used by Arrian in the composition of his *Anabasis.* The fragments of his history—forty-eight in number—have been collected and edited by C. Müller in Didot's *Script. rer. Alex. magni*, p. 94—113.

39. **ὁ Δημάδης** (ā), son of Demeas, of the deme Paeania, was a leading member of the Macedonizing party at Athens and a bitter enemy of Demosthenes, who, as Plut. *Phoc.* c. 1, 1 says of him, *πολλὰ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν ἠναγκάζετο παρὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὸ ἦθος.* His cunning egotism was a violent contrast to the unselfish integrity and noble-mindedness of Phocion. Velleius Paterculus (II 68) well describes him as *ingeniose nequam.*

Pseudo-Callisthenes II 2—5 professes to give his speech made in the debate, as well as those of Aeschines and Demosthenes. Cicero (*Brut.* § 36) says of

him:—*is cuius nulla extant scripta*, *Demades*, and Quintilian (*inst. orat.* II 17, 13):—*neque enim* (Demades) *orationes scribere est ausus, ut eum multum valuisse in dicendo sciamus*, and again XII 10, 49. Suidas on the other hand says of him:—ἔγραψεν Ἀπολογισμὸν πρὸς Ὀλυμπιάδα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δωδεκαετίας. The fragment of this speech is printed by Sauppe, and by Blass at the end of his edition of Dinarchus (Teubner, Leipzig 1888), but neither of these scholars profess to believe in its genuineness. The utterance, attributed to him in the ἀπαράσημα (*fr.* 8 in Sauppe *Orat. Att.* II 315 τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα οὐκ ἐγὼ ἔγραψα ἀλλ' ὁ πόλεμος τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου δόρατι γράφων), is a mere variation of that by Hypereides (*vit. X orr.* p. 848 F) οὐδ' ἐγὼ τὸ ψήφισμα ἔγραψα, ἡ δ' ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχη. A. Schäfer *l. c.* III p. 142 ed. 2.

40. λαβὼν πέντε τάλαντα: Cp. Diod. XVII 15 *ἐπὶ τελευτῆς δὲ Δημάδης, πεπεισμένος ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Δημοσθένην, ὥς φασι, πέντε ταλάντοις ἀργυρίου, συνεβούλευε μὲν σῴζειν τοὺς κινδυνεύοντας, παρανέγνω δὲ ψήφισμα γεγραμμένον φιλοτέχνως. περιεῖχε γὰρ παραίτησιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ κολάζειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἂν ὦσιν ἄξιοι τιμωρίας. ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος...τό τε ψήφισμα ἐκύρωσε καὶ τὸν Δημάδην μεθ' ἑτέρων ἀπέστειλε πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα......ὁ δὲ Δημάδης πρεσβεύσας καὶ τῇ τοῦ λόγου δεινότητι πάντα κατεργασάμενος ἔπεισε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπολῦσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας τῶν ἐγκλημάτων καὶ τἆλλα πάντα συγχωρῆσαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις.*

τῶν ἀνδρῶν is for *αὐτῶν*, i.e. the persons whom Alexander had demanded. Cp. c. 3, 4; c. 13, 2.

27 **44. ἔπεισε** *sc. τὸν βασιλέα.*

45. δ' οὖν, 'be that as it may' i.e. whether it was that he relied on his friendship or expected to find him satiated, like some lion glutted with a feast of blood. **παρῃτήσατο**, 'succeeded in begging them off.' A genitive is sometimes added of that from which there is a begging off, as in *Sull.* c. 31, 2 *παραιτούμεθα* (*αὐτοὺς*) *τῆς τιμωρίας*. In his *Life of Phocion* c. 17 Plutarch says that it was only by the intervention of a second embassy, headed by Phocion, that a remission of terms was obtained. Justin's account (XI 4) also differs in some particulars: *portas refugiis profugorum* (Thebanorum) *contra interdictum regni aperuere* (Athenienses). *Quam rem ita graviter tulit Alexander, ut secunda legatione denuo bellum deprecantibus ita demum remiserit, ut oratores et duces, quorum fiducia totiens rebellent, sibi dedantur: paratisque Atheniensibus, ne cogantur subire bellum, eo res deducta est ut, retentis oratoribus, duces* (i.e. Charidemus et Ephialtes) *in exilium agerentur.*

CHAPTER XXIV

§ **1.** l. **2.** **οὗτοι**, i.e. Demades and the Macedonizing party.

ταπεινὰ ἔπραττεν, 'was in a depressed state,' 'abased.' Cp. *Thes.* c. 6, 5 *παρημελοῦντο ταπεινὰ πράττοντες*, *Sull.* c. 7, 5, *Ti. Gr.* c. 16, 2, *Ag.* c. 3, 1, *Cleom.* c. 18, 3, *Ag.-Cl.-Gr.* c. 1, 2, *Cim.* c. 1, 2 *τῆς πατρίδος λυπρὰ πραττούσης*, Xen. *Cyr.* I vi 3 *ὅτε*

τὰ ἄριστα πράττοι, Eur. *Suppl.* 324 σκοτεινὰ πράττουσαι πόλεις, *Electra* 1359 εὐδαίμονα πράττει.

4. **βραχέα συνεκινήθη**, 'made a slight, feeble, movement in concert with him.' Cp. Thuc. III 40, 2 ἡ πόλις, βραχέα ἡσθεῖσα, μεγάλα ζημιώσεται.

5. **ἔπτηξε** = ἐδειλίασε (*Hesychius*), 'he turned coward,' a poetical word but used by Xenophon twice (*Cyr.* III i 26, iii 18). Cp. *Thes.* c. 6, 5 ἔπτησσον καὶ ἀνεδύοντο, *Aem. Paul.* c. 8, 3, *Alex.* c. 11, 5 ἐκπλαγέντας πάθει τοσούτῳ καὶ πτήξαντας, *Cic.* c. 14, 1 πτήξασα καὶ καταδείσασα. Its proper meaning 'to stoop low,' 'crouch,' 'cower,' is seen in *Mar.* c. 37, 6 πτῆξαι κελεύσας ἐν χωρίῳ κοίλῳ, *Cat. mi.* c. 26, 4 ἐνδιδόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πτήσσοντος.

6. **τοῦ δ' Ἄγιδος πεσόντος...συντριβέντων**: This was Agis III, who succeeded his father Archidamus III as King of Sparta in B.C. 338. He opened communication with the Persian naval commanders in the Aegean B.C. 333, when Alexander was in Asia, and began by operating on the coasts of Asia Minor and in Crete against the Macedonians, and afterwards returned to open the campaign against them in Greece at the commencement of B.C. 330. He gained some successes at first, and won over all the Peloponnese to his cause, except Megalopolis, to which he laid siege. Antipater, one of Alexander's lieutenants, came to its relief at the head of 40,000 men in the summer of the same year, when a battle ensued in which upwards of 5300 men and Agis himself were killed (Diod. XVII 62 f, Qu. Curtius VI 1).

7. **συντριβέντων**, 'shattered,' 'broken to pieces,' c. 28, 1. Cp. *Sertor.* c. 27, 2, Polyb. 5, 47, 1 συντρίψων τοὺς ἤδη διαβεβηκότας, 5, 97, 1 τήν τε χώραν διέσυρε καὶ τὴν βοήθειαν αὐτῶν συνέτριψε δίς.

8. **εἰσήχθη**, 'came on for trial.' It was perhaps the final defeat of the anti-Macedonian movement under Agis that encouraged the enemies of Demosthenes to bring into court the prosecution of Ctesiphon which had been in abeyance since B.C. 337. **τότε**, in the summer of B.C. 330.

ἡ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου γραφή: In B.C. 338, after Chaeronea, Demosthenes had been an active and liberal member of the Commission for the fortification of Athens; he had also been a trustee and a supporter of the *theoricon*. About March B.C. 336, Ctesiphon proposed that Demosthenes should for these services receive a golden wreath of honour from the State and that the proclamation of his merit should be made in the theatre at the Great Dionysia. This proposal was adopted by the senate and deposited as a bill (προβούλευμα) among the public records. But before the bill could become an act (ψήφισμα), it must have been passed by the ecclesia. Aeschines, to hinder this, gave notice that he intended to proceed against Ctesiphon for having proposed an unconstitutional measure: because (1) The accounts of Demosthenes, as trustee, had not been audited when the proposal was made, and no person liable to render such account could receive a public honour: (2) The proclamation should be made in the ecclesia, and could not lawfully be made in the theatre: (3) To record a bill

describing Demosthenes as a public benefactor was to deposit a lying document among the public archives. JEBB, *Attic Orators*, II p. 398 f.

9. **γραφεῖσα**, 'laid,' 'instituted.' The passive in this sense is usually applied to the subject of the prosecution, not to the suit (*γραφή*) itself.

10. **ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος**, 'in the archonship of Chaerondas,' Ol. 110, 3 = B.C. 338. The prosecution was really instituted by Aeschines in Ol. 110. 4 = B.C. 336 in the archonship of Phrynichus, as is proved by A. Schäfer *l. c.* III 84. The document in Dem. *de cor.* § 54, from which Plutarch has taken the name Archondas, is now considered spurious and omitted by Blass in his edition (Leipzig 1885). The case did not come on for trial until the archonship of Aristophon, Ol. 112. 3 = B.C. 330. The statement *ἔτεσι δέκα*, therefore, according to Plutarch's own shewing, is inexact, since not more than eight (really only *six*) years intervened. **μικρὸν ἐπάνω**, 'a little before.' Cp. Diod. Sic. III 6 *κατὰ τοὺς ἐπάνω χρόνους*, XVI 42 *τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω χρόνοις βεβασιλευκότα*, XVIII 49.

11. **τῶν Χαιρωνικῶν**, 'the battle of Chaeronea.' So *πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν* 'before the Trojan War,' Thuc. I c. 3, 1; *μετὰ τὰ Τρωϊκά* c. 12, 1, II 68, 2; *ὑπὲρ* (= *πρὸ*) *τὰ Μηδικά* I 41 2.

§ **2.** l. **12. ἔτεσι δέκα**, dat. of degree of difference, HA. *Gr.* § 781.

14. περιβόητος: Many authors speak of the extraordinary sensation created by this famous trial and of the concourse not merely of Athenians but of Greeks from all parts of Hellas, which it drew. Cicero made a free translation (*non ut interpres sed ut orator*) in Latin of both speeches, that of Aeschines and Demosthenes—the latter 'the masterpiece of the old world's oratory, perhaps the supreme achievement of human eloquence'—but only his beautiful preface, entitled *de optimo genere oratorum*, is extant.

15. εὐγένειαν, 'noble and generous conduct,' an unclassical use of the word. Cp. c. 13, 5 *τὴν τῶν λόγων εὐγένειαν*. **τοῖς ἐλαύνουσι τὸν Δ.**, 'the persecutors of Demosthenes.'

16. μακεδονίζουσιν, cp. c. 20, 1.

17. τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ ψῆφον, concisely for *οὐ προήκαντο τὴν ψῆφον ὥστε γενέσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ*.

18. οὕτω λαμπρῶς, 'so clearly,' 'decisively,' with such a large majority. Cp. *Nic.* c. 5, 37 *λαμπρῶς ἐνίκα* with my note *ad loc.* **ὥστε τὸ πέμπτον...μὴ μεταλαβεῖν**, 'so that he did not get a fifth of the votes;' consequently he was condemned to pay 1000 drachmas, and was incapacitated from bringing any future action.

20. περὶ Ῥόδον καὶ Ἰωνίαν: In the *vit. X orr.* 840 C it is recorded that he was disfranchised as well as fined, and that he went first to Ephesus and on the death of Alexander to Rhodes, where he is said *ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλθεῖν τέχνην καὶ διδάσκειν τοὺς*

παῖδας γράμματα. From Rhodes he went to Samos where he died in B.C. 314.

21. σοφιστεύων κατεβίωσε, 'spent the rest of his life as a teacher of rhetoric.' Cp. *Lucull.* c. 22, 5 *Ἀμφικράτης ὁ ῥήτωρ...λέγεται φυγεῖν μὲν εἰς Σελεύκειαν...δεομένων δ' αὐτόθι σοφιστεύειν ὑπεριδεῖν καταλαζονευσάμενον ὡς οὐδὲ λεκάνη δελφῖνα χωροίη, Caes.* c. 3, 1 *ἔπλευσεν εἰς Ῥόδον ἐπὶ σχολὴν πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον...οὗ καὶ Κικέρων ἠκροᾶτο σοφιστεύοντος ἐπιφανῶς, Dem.-Cic.* c. 1, 1 *ὑπερβαλόμενος ἀκριβείᾳ καὶ τέχνῃ τοὺς σοφιστάς.* For the form *κατεβίωσε*, cp. c. 21, 3.

CHAPTER XXV

§ **1.** l. **1. Ἅρπαλος**: Diod. Sic. XVII 108 *Ἅρπαλος δὲ τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι θησαυρῶν καὶ τῶν προσόδων τὴν φυλακὴν πεπιστευμένος, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐστράτευσεν, ἀπέγνω τὴν ἐπάνοδον αὐτοῦ, δοὺς δ' αὐτὸν εἰς τρυφὴν καὶ πολλῆς χώρας ἀποδεδειγμένος σατράπης πολλὰ τῆς γάζης ἀκρατεστάταις ἡδοναῖς κατηνάλωσεν...εἰς δὲ τὰ παράλογα τῆς τύχης καταφυγὰς πορίζόμενος εὐεργέτει τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον. τοῦ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου μετὰ τὴν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐπάνοδον πολλοὺς τῶν σατραπῶν κατηγορηθέντας ἀνελόντος, φοβηθεὶς τὴν τιμωρίαν καὶ συσκευασάμενος ἀργυρίου μὲν τάλαντα πεντακισχίλια, μισθοφόρους δ' ἀθροίσας ἑξακισχιλίους, ἀπῆρεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν. Οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτῷ προσέχοντος τοὺς μὲν μισθοφόρους ἀπέλιπε περὶ Ταίναρον τῆς Λακωνικῆς, αὐτὸς δὲ μέρος τῶν χρημάτων ἀναλαβὼν ἱκέτης ἐγένετο τοῦ δήμου.* This was in B.C. 324. Cp. Athenae. XIII p. 595 ff, Plut. *Phoc.* c. 21, 2 *τῶν εἰωθότων ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος χρηματίζεσθαι δρόμος ἦν καὶ ἅμιλλα φθειρομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν (τὸν Ἅρπαλον).*

7. ἐποφθαλμιάσαντες πρὸς τὸν πλοῦτον, 'looking with a jealous, longing eye to his wealth.' Cp. *Aem. Paul.* c. 30, 2 *οἱ στρατιῶται τοῖς βασιλικοῖς χρήμασιν ἐποφθαλμιάσαντες, Caes.* c. 2, 4 *ἐκείνου τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐποφθαλμιῶντος.* Pollux II 62 says:—*καὶ ἐποφθαλμιᾶν τὸ ἐπιθυμεῖν τινός, καὶ ὠφθαλμίασε τὸ ἐπεθύμησεν Ὑπερείδης* (*fr.* 258 ed. Blass).

8. συνέπειθον, conative imperfect, 'tried to persuade.' G. *MT.* 28
§ 36.

§ **2.** l. **13. προφάσεως,** 'cause.' **ἐξεταζομένων τῶν χρημάτων,** 'when an inventory was being made of his treasures.'

14. βαρβαρικῇ, 'Persian.'

15. καταμανθάνοντα τὴν τορείαν καὶ τὸ εἶδος 'taking note of,' 'examining minutely the workmanship (carving in relief) and style.'

16. διαβαστάσαντα, 'weighing in the hand.' Cp. Lucian *Ep. Sat.* c. 33 *περισκοπείτωσαν τὸ ἔκπωμα καὶ τὸ βάρος ἴστωσαν αὐτοὶ*

διαβαστάσαντες. **τὴν ὁλκήν**, 'the weight.' Cp. *Mor.* 580 F ὁλκῇ μία καθ' αὑτὴν οὐκ ἄγει τὸν ζυγόν, Babr. *fab.* 51, 6 πόσην γὰρ ὁλκὴν τοὐμὸν αἷμα προσθήσει;

§ **3.** l. **17. θαυμάσαντος...τὸ βάρος**, 'expressing his surprise at its heaviness.'

18. πόσον ἄγει, 'how much it weighs.' Harpalus affects to understand ἄγειν in its ordinary sense of 'to bring' and answers accordingly.

20. γενομένης τάχιστα τῆς νυκτός, 'as soon as ever it was night.' Cp. c. 8, 1 ἀπαλλαγεὶς αὐτῶν τάχιστα.

22. δεινὸς...ἀνευρεῖν ἦθος διαχύσει καὶ βολαῖς ὀμμάτων, 'skilful in discovering the character of one who had a passion for gold by the sparkle of glee that glanced from his eyes.' Plutarch is fond of the verb διαχεῖσθαι and its derivatives. Cp. *Lucull.* c. 21, 6 καίπερ ἐν διαχύσει τοῦ προσώπου καὶ μειδιάματι πεπλασμένῳ πειρώμενον ἀκούειν τῶν λόγων, *Cat. mi.* c. 46, 3 τοῦ Κάτωνος τὸ αὐστηρὸν ὁρῶντες ἡσυχῇ μεταβάλλον εἰς διάχυσιν, *Mor.* 412 E ὁρῶ ὑμᾶς ἀνειμένως καθημένους καὶ διακεχυμένους τοῖς προσώποις, 610 A πολὺ ἀμβλύνεται τοῦ λυποῦντος τῇ γαλήνῃ τοῦ σώματος διαχεομένου.

§ **4.** l. **24. οὐ γὰρ ἀντέσχεν**, (and he was not deceived in this case) 'for Dem. did not resist' the temptation. As to the truth of the story, see on c. 26 l. 10. Lynceus, brother of Duris Samius, in his Ἀποφθέγματα ap. Athenae. VI c. 47 refers to the incident:— καθ' ὃν δὲ καιρὸν Δημοσθένης παρ' Ἁρπάλου τὴν κύλικα εἰλήφει 'οὗτος' ἔφη 'τοὺς ἄλλους ἀκρατοκώθωνας καλῶν αὐτὸς τὴν μεγάλην ἔσπακεν.'

25. πληγείς, *perculsus, victus.* Cp. Herod. VIII 5 δώροισι πληγέντες (according to the old reading).

26. ὥσπερ παραδεδεγμένος φρουράν, 'as if he had received a foreign garrison into the citadel of his house.'

27. προσκεχωρήκει, 'had gone over to.'

28. μεθ' ἡμέραν, 'the day after.'

A. Gellius (*noct. att.* xi 9), quoting from Critolaus, tells the story as if the bribe had been given by some ambassadors to Athens from Miletus: *Demosthenem Milesiorum postulatis acrius respondisse, neque Milesios auxilio dignos, neque ex republica id esse contendisse; rem in posterum diem prolatam; legatos ad Dem. venisse, magnoque opere orasse uti contra ne diceret; eum pecuniam petivisse et quantam petiverat abstulisse; postridie, cum res agi denuo coepta esset, Demosthenem, lana multa collum cervicesque circumvolutum ad populum prodisse et dixisse se synanchen pati, eo contra Milesios loqui non quire. Tum e populo unum exclamasse, non synanchen quod Demosthenes pateretur sed argyranchen esse.*

29. ἐρίοις καὶ ταινίαις...καθελιξάμενος, 'muffling himself up, swathed about, with woollen bandages.'

31. κελευόντων, HA. *Gr.* § 972 a.

32. διένευεν, *nutu tacite significabat,* 'kept making signs,' an unclassical word.

Cp. Lucian *var. hist.* II c. 44 συνίεμεν αὐτῶν *διανευόντων*, *ib.* c. 25 *διένευον* ἀλλήλοις ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ, *dial. mer.* c. 2 *διένευσα* αὐτῷ οἷα ποιεῖ, Diod. III 18 ταῖς κεφαλαῖς παρ' ἕκαστα *διανεύοντες*, Aristaen. I 1 οὐ νέμεσις τὸ γύναιον εἶναι διὰ στόματος τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἔνθα κωφοὶ *διανεύουσιν* ἀλλήλοις τῆς Λαΐδος τὸ κάλλος, Luc. *Ev.* c. 1, 22 αὐτὸς ἦν *διανεύων* αὐτοῖς, Alciphron *Ep. fr.* 5, 3 καὶ οἱ κωφοὶ *διανεύουσιν* ἀλλήλοις τὸ ἐκείνης κάλλος.

§ **5.** l. **33. οἱ εὐφυεῖς,** 'the wits,' 'wags.' *Timol.* c. 15, 3, Isocr. *Areopag.* § 49 καὶ τοὺς εὐτραπέλους δὲ καὶ τοὺς σκώπτειν δυναμένους, οὓς νῦν *εὐφυεῖς* προσαγορεύουσιν, ἐκεῖνοι (antiqui Athenienses) δυστυχεῖς ἐνόμιζον, Ruhnken *Hist. cr. orat. graec.* p. 151. Cp. c. 11, 3.

34. συνάγχης, 'an ordinary quinsy,' **ἀργυράγχης,** 'a silver quinsy.'

37. πείθειν, 'to attempt to persuade,' 'obtain a hearing.'

38. χαλεπαίνοντος, 'expressing their indignation.'

40. τοῦ τὴν κύλικα ἔχοντος, 'the man with the cup in hand;' 29
an allusion to a custom at feasts, where the cup passed from hand to hand and the person who held it had the right of speaking or singing a song without being interrupted. Cp. Athenae. XI 480 B *κυλικηγορεῖν*, ὅταν ἐπὶ τῇ κύλικί τις ἀγορεύῃ, Plat. *Symp.* 214 B οὔτε τι λέγομεν *ἐπὶ τῇ κύλικι* οὐδέ τι ᾄδομεν.

§ **6.** l. **41. ἀπέπεμψαν:** *vit. X orr.* 846 B μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φυγόντος Ἁρπάλου ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου, ἐν ᾧ ἐφυλάσσετο μέχρις ἂν ἀφίκηταί τις παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου,...αἰτίαν ἔσχεν ὁ Δημοσθένης δωροδοκίας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μήτε τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀνακομισθέντων μεμηνυκὼς μήτε τὴν τῶν φυλασσόντων ἀμέλειαν, Diod. Sic. XVII 108.

42. μὴ λόγον ἀπαιτῶνται, 'lest they should have an account demanded of them,' 'be called to account for.' Cp. *Mor.* 831 E ὑπ' οὐδενὸς *ἀπαιτούμενος* οὐδ' ὀφείλων, 936 E οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως *ἀπαιτοῦνται* τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν ἔμφασιν ἐν αὐτῇ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, Xen. *Apol.* c. 17 ἐμὲ μηδ' ὑφ' ἑνὸς *ἀπαιτεῖσθαι* εὐεργεσίαν, and see HA. *Gr.* § 724 a.

44. νεανικήν, 'vigorous,' 'zealous,' 'strict.'

Plutarch and some late writers use the word of anything 'intense,' 'vehement,' 'mighty.' Cp. *Brut.* c. 13, 3 ὀδύνας τε *νεανικὰς* καὶ φρικώδεις πυρετούς, *Num.* c. 1, 1 ἔστι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν Νουμᾶ τοῦ βασιλέως χρόνων καθ' οὓς γέγονε *νεανικὴ* διαφορά, *Mor.* 947 C βλάβαι *νεανικαί*, Theophr. *ign.* fr. 17 *νεανικὸς* χειμών, Arist. *Hist. anim.* VIII 20, 12 νόσημα *νεανικόν*, Polyb. 22, 12, 11 πρᾶξιν ἔχων *νεανικήν*.

46. Callicles was, according to Plut. *Phoc.* c. 9, 1, a money-lender (δανειστής). Cp. *Mor.* 533 A, 822 F.

48. ἐλεγχθῆναι, 'to be tried, examined.' **νύμφης ἔνδον οὔσης:** So Ulpian *Pandect.* II *in ius vocari non debet, qui uxorem ducit.* **Θεόπομπος,** *fr.* 108 from the X[th] Book of the Philippics,

which is mostly taken up with an account of the Athenian *δημαγωγοί* from the Persian wars downwards. His history did not extend beyond B.C. 336.

CHAPTER XXVI

§ **1.** l. 2. **ὁμόσε χωρῶν**, a military expression signifying 'coming to close quarters with' (*Alc.* c. 31, 4, *Crass.* c. 24, 4, *Galb.* c. 14, 5); hence met. 'coming to issue with,' 'confronting' the charge of bribery by taking the initiative, 'putting a bold face on the matter,' not, as some, 'following the movement.'

Cp. *Thes.* c. 10, 1 ὁμόσε τῇ φήμῃ βαδίζοντες καὶ τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ πολεμοῦντες, *Anton.* c. 53, 3, *Mor.* 85 C, Plat. *Euthyd.* p. 294 D τὼ δὲ ἀνδρειότατα ὁμόσε ᾔτην τοῖς ἐρωτήμασιν, *Euthyphr.* p. 3 C οὐδὲν αὐτῶν χρὴ φροντίζειν ἀλλ' ὁμόσε ἰέναι, *Rep.* X p. 610 C ἐὰν δέ γέ τις...ὁμόσε τῷ λόγῳ τολμᾷ ἰέναι, Philostr. *Imagg.* II c. 13 ὁμόσε κεχώρηκε τοῖς κύμασι, Dion. Hal. *ant. rom.* VI 74, 6 ὁμόσε τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐχωρήσαμεν.

εἰσήνεγκε ψήφισμα: Dinarch. *c. Dem.* § 61 *μόνος σὺ τῶν πώποτ' ἀποπεφασμένων ἠξίωσας ἑκὼν σεαυτῷ τούτους κριτὰς καὶ ζητητὰς γενέσθαι, καὶ ἔγραψας κατὰ σεαυτοῦ τὸ ψήφισμα, καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐποιήσω μάρτυρα τῶν ὡμολογημένων, ὁρισάμενος σεαυτῷ ζημίαν εἶναι θάνατον, ἐὰν ἀποφήνῃ <σ'> ἡ βουλὴ τῶν χρημάτων εἰληφότα τι τῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν ὑπὸ Ἁρπάλου κομισθέντων.* **τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλήν**, c. 14, 4. The Areopagus in this case acted not as a correctional tribunal, but only as a court of inquiry; their sentence was not final and peremptory, but they gave in their report (*τὴν ἀπόφασιν*) to the ordinary courts of justice, and the trial was instituted thereupon. We learn from Dinarchus *l. c.* § 45 that the report of the Areopagites was not delivered until after an interval of six months. Upon their decision in the case, ten public accusers (Dinarch. *c. Aristog.* c. 6) were appointed to prosecute the persons specified (*ἀποπεφασμένους*) before an ordinary dicastery. Among the accusers were Hypereides, Pytheas, Menesaechmus, Himeraeus, Patroclus, Stratocles (*vit. X orr.* 846 c. 1).

Dinarch. *c. Dem.* § 50 ἀνάγκη τὴν βουλὴν ὦ ἄνδρες τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου κατὰ δύο τρόπους ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀποφάσεις πάσας...ἤτοι αὐτὴν προελομένην ἢ ζητήσασαν τοῦ δήμου προστάξαντος αὐτῇ, *c. Philoclem.* § 5 οὐ τὰς ἀποφάσεις οἶμαι νῦν κρίνεσθαι, πότερον ἀληθεῖς εἰσιν ἢ ψευδεῖς...ἀλλὰ περὶ μόνης τῆς τιμωρίας ὑμᾶς δεῖν τῆς ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι γεγραμμένης δικάσαι νῦν, πότερα δεῖ χρημάτων τιμῆσαι τῷ τηλικαῦτ' ἠδικηκότι τὴν πόλιν ἢ θανάτῳ ζημιώσαντας...ἢ δημεῦσαι τὴν οὐσίαν.

§ **2.** l. 8. **ὀφλὼν...δίκην**, 'being condemned to a fine of 50 talents.' Cp. c. 26, 1, *Dion-Br.* c. 1, 3 *ὠφληκόσι δίκην θανάτου*, Plat. *legg.* 856 D. So Zosim. p. 150 *κριθεὶς ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις ἔφυγεν εἰς Αἴγιναν.*

9. **παραδοθεὶς εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον**, 'being delivered into gaol,' because he was unable to discharge the fine. Cp. c. 14, 3, Xen.

Hell. I vii 3 *Τιμοκράτους εἰπόντος ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους χρὴ δεθέντας εἰς τὸν δῆμον παραδοθῆναι ἡ βουλὴ ἔδησε*, Dem. *Mid.* § 1 *πολλοί μοι προσιόντες ἠξίουν ἐπεξελθεῖν καὶ παραδοῦναι τοῦτον εἰς ὑμᾶς* (*sc. τοὺς δικαστάς*), *or.* li § 8 (*τοὺς τριηράρχους*) *παρεδώκατ᾽ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον.*

10. αἰσχύνῃ τῆς αἰτίας: So Dem. *Ep.* II § 17, p. 1471:— *πρῶτον μὲν τοὔνειδος τῆς εἱρκτῆς χαλεπῶς τῷ λογισμῷ φέρων, εἶτα διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν οὐκ ἂν οἷός τ᾽ ὢν τῷ σώματι τὴν κακοπαθίαν ὑπενεγκεῖν.* See cr. n.

The question whether Demosthenes was guilty of receiving money direct from Harpalus was a problem discussed by ancient writers. Lucian and Libanius—both of whom had access to excellent sources of information—pronounce him innocent. So also Pausanias II c. 33, 4, 5. Plutarch's anecdote cannot be true, because there is conclusive evidence that Demosth. opposed Harpalus from first to last. In fact Hypereides (*c. Demosth. fr.* IV p. 10 ed. Blass) insists upon the great mischief which he had done by his decree for arresting (*σύλληψις*) Harpalus. The only service which he rendered to the exile was by refusing to deliver him to Antipater, and by not preventing his escape from imprisonment; but even Phocion concurred in this refusal, and probably the best Athenians of all parties were desirous of favouring the escape of an exile, whom it would have been odious to hand over to a Macedonian executioner. Neither had Demosth. the means of embezzling the money, after it had passed out of the control of Harpalus; for it then came under the custody of the officers of the Athenian exchequer and was out of his reach. The Speech of Dinarchus against him is a mere virulent invective destitute of facts. Even the report of the Areopagus contained no recital of facts, nothing but a specification of names with the sums for which each of them was chargeable (Hyper. *l. c. fr.* III p. 4 ed. Blass). It appears to have been made *ex parte*, without hearing the accused persons in their own defence: and when Demosthenes demanded some positive evidence of the charge laid against him, Hypereides (*fr.* III p. 5) set aside the demand as nothing better than special pleading. GROTE *Hist. Gr.* XII p. 407 ff.

12. τὸν εἱργμόν, 'the confinement.' Cp. Demosth. *Ep.* II 17 *διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν οὐκ ἂν οἷός τ᾽ ὢν τῷ σώματι τὴν κακοπαθίαν ὑπενεγκεῖν.*

14. ὡς, *postquam.* **μακράν** (*sc. ὁδόν*) has here the construction of an adverb of place (HA. *Gr.* § 757), 'far from the city.'

§ **3.** l. **19. ἐφόδιον**, *viaticum*, 'provision for his journey.'

22. φέρειν ἀνιαρῶς, 'to bear with pain' (an unclassical expression). Cp. *Pyrrh.* c. 19, 1 *τὴν περὶ τὰ ὄμματα τύχην ἀνιαρῶς ἔφερον*, *Arat.* c. 51, 3 *φέρων ἀνιαρῶς αὐτός.* **ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀνακλαύσασθαι**, 'broke out into still more violent expressions of grief,' the ingressive aorist, HA. *Gr.* § 841, G. § 200 Note 5 (*b*). Cf. Antiph. Τετραλ. I 4, 1 *τὰς παρούσας ἀτυχίας ἀνακλαύσασθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς.* Observe the change to the infinitive in indirect discourse from *ὡς* with opt. (l. 14).

23. πῶς δ᾽ οὐ μέλλω φέρειν βαρέως ἀπολείπων; 'of course I am (lit. 'how should I not be?') vexed at leaving.' The construction is that of the supplementary participle with verbs of emotion, G. § 279, 1, HA. *Gr.* § 983.

The same anecdote is recorded *vit. X orr.* 845 E, with the parts however changed:—*φεύγοντος δ' Αἰσχίνου μετὰ τὴν καταδίκην* (i.e. after the verdict on the Crown) *ἵππῳ κατεδίωξεν αὐτὸν* (ὁ Δημοσθένης)' *τοῦ δ' οἰηθέντος αὐτὸν συλλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ προσπεσόντος καὶ συγκαλυψαμένου ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν παρεμυθήσατο καὶ τάλαντον ἔδωκεν ἀργυρίου.*

25. ἐν ἑτέρᾳ *sc. πόλει.*

§ **4.** l. **28. ἐν Τροιζῆνι**: According to Pausanias I 8, 4 and Demosth. *Epist.* II 20 p. 1472 he took refuge on this occasion also in Calauria *τὴν πρὸ Τροιζῆνος νῆσον.* See c. 29, 1. **τὰ πολλά**, *plerumque.*

29. πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀποβλέπων δεδακρυμένος, 'looking wistfully and tearfully to the coast of Attica.' Cp. *Phoc.* c. 37, 1 *πρὸς τὰς θύρας δεδακρυμένοι τῆς εἱρκτῆς ἀπέβλεπον.*

Cp. *Arist.* c. 18, 1 *τρέπεται πρὸς τὸ Ἥραιον τῇ ὄψει δεδακρυμένος*, *Flamin.* c. 19, 2, *Lucull.* c. 35, 3 *κατὰ σκηνὰς περιϊὼν ταπεινὸς καὶ δεδακρυμένος*, *Demetr.* c. 53, 3, *Tib. Gr.* c. 16, 2, *C. Gr.* c. 16, 1, *Pomp.* c. 13, 2, *Caes.* c. 16, 4 *εὖ μάλα κατηφὴς καὶ δ.*, *Anton.* c. 43, 1 *δ. καὶ περιπαθῶν*, *Dion* c. 42, 3 *δεδακρυμένοι τὰς συμφορὰς τῶν Συρακουσίων ἔφραζον*, *Mor.* 357 A *ταπεινὴν καὶ δεδακρυμένην*, Plato *Axioch.* 364 B.

30. ὥστε φωνὰς...ἀπομνημονεύεσθαι, 'so that there remain on record some ungenerous (or irrational) utterances of his, inconsistent with the chivalrous and spirited acts for which he was known in his administration.' For the use of *οὐ* after *ὥστε*, see C. Stegmann p. 11, who quotes among other similar instances of the negative qualifying single words, *Them.* c. 5, 4, *Tim.* c. 3, 3, *Flam.* c. 5, 1 *μὴ μεμετρημένους μηδ' εὐποροῦντας* (=*καὶ ἀποροῦντας*), *Phoc.* c. 8, 1.

31. ὁμολογουμένας: see n. to c. 20, 2.

34. ὦ δέσποινα Πολιάς, 'Lady guardian goddess of the city.' The temple of Athene Πολιάς (=*πολιοῦχος*), named Erechtheion (Baumeister *Denkmäler* p. 484—491), which was for a long time the principal, if not the only, temple on the Acropolis, contained her most ancient and revered image, said to have fallen down from heaven, a mere *ξόανον*, carved out of a piece of olive wood, yet much more sacred than the chryselephantine statue in the Parthenon, the work of Phidias, for it was for the primitive statue that the peplus was woven (Pausan. I 26, 7). The owl—which was the bird sacred to the goddess,—was the usual symbol on the r. of the Athenian coins; the serpent also, the symbol of perpetual renovation, was sacred to her and a sacred serpent (*οἰκουρὸς ὄφις*) was kept in her temple (Arist. *Lys.* 759, Herod. VIII 41).

36. δήμῳ: so Horace *Epist.* II 75 calls the people *belua multorum capitum.*

§ **5.** l. **38. λέγων ὡς......ἂν ὁρμῆσαι**: For the construction, cp. Xen. *Cyr.* VIII i 25 *ἐλογίζετο ὡς, εἰ πάντες οἱ κοινῶνες θεοσεβεῖς εἶεν, ἧττον ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐθέλειν...ἀνόσιόν τι ποιεῖν*, where the *ὡς* is similarly superfluous and perhaps ought not to be retained.

40. ἄντικρυς *sc. φερούσης* or *τεινούσης*, 'leading direct.'

42. ἀγωνίας: The radical idea of the word *ἀγωνία* is fear, more or less intense.

In Diog. Laert. VII 113 it is defined to be *φόβος ἀδήλου πράγματος*. It is constantly joined with other words expressive of fear. Thus Dem. *de cor.* § 33 *ἦν ἐν φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ*, Diod. Sic. XVI 42 *οἱ βασιλεῖς...εἰς ἀγωνίαν καὶ μεγίστους φόβους ἐνέπιπτον*, Plut. *Mar.* c. 43, 4 *ὥστε καὶ τῶν φίλων ἕκαστον ἀγωνίας μεστὸν εἶναι καὶ φρίκης, ὁσάκις ἀσπασόμενοι τῷ Μαρίῳ πελάζοιεν* (because, if Marius did not return the salutation, his *δορυφόροι* took it as a hint to kill the person saluting). The Latin word most nearly corresponding to it is *trepidatio*, as we learn from Servius on Virgil *Aen.* XII 737:—'*dum trepidat* i.e. dum turbatur, festinat, quod Graecis *ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἐστίν*.' FIELD *notes on select passages of the N. T.*, p. 56.

ἂν ὁρμῆσαι = *ἂν ὥρμησεν* of direct discourse.

43. εὐθύ, 'direct,' takes the gen., like most adverbs of place. Thuc. VIII 88 *ἄρας εὐθὺ τῆς Φασηλίδος*.

CHAPTER XXVII

§ **1.** l. **1. φεύγοντος...φυγήν**, c. 1, 1 l. 7.

2. ἐτελεύτησε, at Babylon, May B.C. 323.

3. τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ συνίσταντο πάλιν, 'the Greek States entered into a fresh (anti-Macedonian) league' c. 23, 1.

4. Λεωσθένους: Leosthenes, an Athenian, was general of the league for expelling the Macedonians from Greece after the death of Alexander. When Antipater advanced from Macedonia into Greece to put down the rising, Leosthenes marched into Thessaly to meet him, and gained a complete victory over him at Heraclea not far from Thermopylae, cutting off his retreat into Macedonia and compelling him to throw himself into Lamia and there await succours from Asia. Leosthenes pressed the siege of Lamia with the utmost vigour, but was ultimately compelled to turn it into a blockade, and died soon after from a wound received while he was inspecting the blockading trenches. (Diod. XVIII 13, Pausan. I 25, 5, Justin XIII 5.) A funeral oration (*λόγος ἐπιτάφιος*) in his honour was pronounced at Athens at the close of B.C. 322 by Hypereides, fragments of which were recovered by Rev. H. Stobart in Egypt in 1857 (ed. Ch. Babington *Preface* p. 3. Blass p. 52—p. 71).

5. Ἀντίπατρον: Antipater (B.C. 400—319), the father of Cassander, was one of the most faithful officers of Philip and Alexander, by the latter of whom he was left vice-regent of Macedonia, when he himself crossed over into Asia in B.C. 334. It was Antipater who brought the war with the Spartans under Agis III (c. 24, 1) to a successful issue, during the absence of the young king in Asia. On Alexander's death he continued vice-regent of Macedonia. Besieged by the confederate army of Greeks in Lamia, he was delivered by the arrival of Leonnatus from Asia,

and by his subsequent victory at Crannon in B.C. 322 dissolved the anti-Macedonian league. The death of Perdiccas in the next year left him supreme regent until his own death in B.C. 319.

ἐν Λαμίᾳ: Lamia was the chief town of the people called the Malians, near the head of the Maliac gulf, in the Phthiotis district of Thessaly, about 4 miles from the river Spercheius. It gave its name to the Lamian war.

§ **2.** l. 6. **Πυθέας**, c. 8, 3.

7. **Καλλιμέδων ὁ Κάραβος** is mentioned in *Phoc.* c. 27, 4 as an *ἀνὴρ θρασὺς καὶ μισόδημος*. He returned to Athens after the re-establishment of the Macedonian supremacy there, but was compelled to take to flight again upon the outbreak against Phocion in B.C. 317. He was condemned to death when the orators Hegêmon, Pythocles and others were executed along with Phocion, but made his escape in safety with Demetrius Phalereus, Charicles and some others (*Phoc.* c. 35).

Athenaeus (III c. 64) gives the reason for his nickname: *Καλλιμέδοντος τοῦ ῥήτορος, ὃς διὰ τὸ φιληδεῖν τῷ βρώματι Κάραβος ἐπεκλήθη.* The same writer quotes from the *Dorcis* of Alexis the following lines about him (Mein. III 407, Kock II 316):—

> *τοῖς ἰχθυοπώλαις ἐστὶν ἐψηφισμένον,*
> *ὥς φασι, χαλκῆν Καλλιμέδοντος εἰκόνα*
> *στῆσαι, Παναθηναίοισιν ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσιν,*
> *ἔχουσαν ὀπτὸν κάραβον ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ,*
> *ὡς αὐτὸν ὄντ' αὐτοῖσι τῆς τέχνης μόνον*
> *σωτῆρα, τοὺς ἄλλους δὲ πάντας ζημίαν·*

and again (c. 57) from the *Ponticus* (Mein. III 473, Kock II 368):—

> *ὑπὲρ πάτρας μὲν πᾶς τις ἀποθνήσκειν θέλει,*
> *ὑπὲρ δὲ μήτρας Καλλιμέδων ὁ Κάραβος*
> *ἐφθῆς ἴσως προσεῖτ' ἂν ἀποθανεῖν <μόνος>.*

Perhaps a better reason for his sobriquet is supplied by Athenaeus VIII c. 24 p. 340 a *περὶ δὲ Καλλιμέδοντος τοῦ Καράβου ὅτι......διάστροφος ἦν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς,* Ἄλεξις ἐν Κρατεύᾳ ἢ Φαρμακοπώλῃ (Mein. III 431, Kock II 337):—

> A. *τῷ Καλλιμέδοντι γὰρ θεραπεύω τὰς κόρας*
> *ἤδη τετάρτην ἡμέραν.* B. *ἦσαν κόραι*
> *θυγατέρες αὐτῷ;* A. *τὰς μὲν οὖν τῶν ὀμμάτων,*
> *ἃς οὐδ' ὁ Μελάμπους, ὃς μόνος τὰς Προιτίδας*
> *ἔπαυσε μαινομένας, καταστήσειεν ἄν.*

8. **προσεγένοντο**, 'went over to,' 'attached themselves to.' *Them.* c. 7, 1, *Num.* c. 2, 5 *ἐκ ταπεινοτέρων κρείττοσι προσγενέσθαι.*

31 10. **οὐκ εἴων ἀφίστασθαι**, 'said they must not desert the cause' (of Macedonia).

11. **οὐδὲ** *sc. εἴων.* **προσέχειν**, c. 20, 4.

13. **προσμείξας ἑαυτόν**: cp. *Phoc.* c. 6, 1 *νέος ὢν Χαβρίᾳ προσέμειξεν ἑαυτόν.* See cr. n.

14. συνέπραττεν, ὅπως...συνεπιθήσονται: c. 8, 4.

§ **3.** l. **17. Πυθέου:** according to the *vit. X orr.* 846 C it was Polyeuctus not Pytheas.

19. Phylarchus, born probably at Naucratis but a naturalised citizen of Athens, left a long historical work in 28 Books, commencing with the invasion of the Peloponnese by Pyrrhus and ending with the death of Cleomenes B.C. 272—220, in continuation of the works of Hieronymus and Duris. Müller *FHG.* I lxxvii f. He is one of the sources of Plutarch in several of his biographies, his principal source in those of *Agis* and *Cleomenes* and in the latter part of that of *Pyrrhus*, and that of *Aratus*, though he professes not to attach much importance to him as an authority (*Arat.* c. 58, 6).

22. ὄνειον γάλα, 'ass's milk,' supposed to be a cure for phthisis.

23. πάντως, *profecto*, 'to a certainty,' 'in any case,' with *ἔχειν*, not with *νομίζομεν*, *Them.* c. 2, 2.

24. νοσεῖν, 'to be in a disordered state.' Cp. *Arat.* c. 2, 1 *ἡ πόλις οὐκ ἐπαύσατο νοσοῦσα καὶ ταραττομένη*. The word is used in a general way to denote weakness or defective condition of any kind.

§ **4.** l. **25. στρέψαι,** 'retorted,' 'twisted.'

26. καί—καί, 'as—so.'

27. τῶν νοσούντων goes with *ὑγιείᾳ* as well as *σωτηρίᾳ*.

30. κάθοδον, 'return from exile;' cp. c. 3, 3 *κατελθεῖν*. Demon was the son of Demomeles who was *ἀνεψιός* of Demosthenes; *ἀνεψιός* therefore is here used loosely for *ἀνεψιαδοῦς*.

31. ὁ Παιανιεύς, 'of the deme Paeania' in the tribe Pandionis.

32. ἐπ' αὐτόν, 'after him,' i.e. to fetch him. Cp. *Alcib.* c. 21 *καὶ τέλος ἀπέστειλεν (ὁ δῆμος) τὴν Σαλαμινίαν ἐπ' αὐτόν.*

§ **5.** l. **34. ἀπολειφθέντος,** 'staying behind.' Cp. *Them.* c. 11, 2, *Mor.* 755 C *προάγοντος...οὐκ ἀπελείπετο*, *Oth.* c. 5, 2 *αὐτὸς ἐν Βριξίλλῳ ἀπελείφθη, στρατηγοὺς δὲ ἐξέπεμψε*, Xen. *Cyr.* I iv 20, *Oec.* c. 7, 38, Her. VII 221, Thuc. VII 75, 4 where Hude reads *ἀπολειπόμενοι* with two of the best MSS, Dem. *or.* 39 § 16 *καὶ γὰρ νῦν, ὅτε εἰς Ταμύνας παρῆλθον οἱ ἄλλοι, ἐνθάδε τοὺς χόας ἄγων ἀπελείφθη.*

36. ὅτε καί, 'it was on this particular occasion that,' with *μακαρίσαι*. See note to c. 23, 4. **ὁ Μάγνης Δημήτριος:** See note to c. 15, 3. Probably from his book *περὶ ὁμονοίας*, see Droysen *Hist. success. Alex. M.* p. 679 with Haug *die Quellen Plutarchs* p. 76.

37. μακαρίσαι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἑαυτόν, 'that he blessed himself for that day,' gen. of the exciting cause: G. § 173, 1, HA. § 744. Cp. *Crass.* c. 21, 2 *Κράσσον τῆς δυνάμεως μακαρίσας ἐμέμφετο τῆς διατριβῆς*, *Ages.* c. 15, 5 *τὴν Σπάρτην μακαρίσαι τῆς Ἀγησιλάου τιμῆς πρὸς ταύτην*, Ar. *Vesp.* 429 *φήμ' ἐγὼ τὰς χελώνας μακαριεῖν σε τοῦ δέρματος.*

38. **ὡς βέλτιον Ἀλκιβιάδου κατιόντα**: 'because he returned from exile to his country in a more honourable manner than Alcibiades.' Cp. the parallel between the return of Alcibiades and Demosthenes in [Lucian] *Encom. Dem.* c. 31.

The return of Alcibiades, after an exile of seven years, took place in the spring of B.C. 408. He had been condemned to death for contumacy in B.C. 415, and placed his services for three years at the command of the enemies of his country; afterwards, for three or four other years, he had atoned for this act of treason by rendering immense services to Athens and re-establishing her ascendancy in the Hellespont by a series of successes over the Lacedaemonians. For an account of his return to Athens, see *Alc.* c. 32, Xen. *Hell.* I iv 12 ff.

32 § **6.** l. **41.** **μενούσης**, 'continuing unpaid.' **χάριτι λῦσαι καταδίκην**, *gratiam facere damnationis*, 'to remit the sentence against him by favour, as an act of grace.' Cp. *Mor.* 179 A *τὴν μὲν κρίσιν οὐκ ἔλυσε, τὸ δὲ τίμημα τῆς δίκης αὐτὸς ἐξέτισεν.*

42. **ἐσοφίσαντο πρὸς τὸν νόμον**, 'resorted to an artifice in respect to the law,' 'evaded the law.' The *γάρ* in l. 43 introduces the explanation of the mode in which they did so.

43. **θυσίᾳ τοῦ Διός**, 'sacrifice to Zeus.'

45. **ταῦτα ποιῆσαι**, 'to do so' i.e. *κατασκευάζειν καὶ κοσμεῖν τὸν βωμόν.* For the infinitive of the object, cp. Plat. *Parmen.* 127 A *κατελάβομεν τὸν Ἀντιφῶντα οἴκοι χαλινόν τινα χαλκεῖ ἐκδιδόντα σκευάσαι.*

46. **παρασχεῖν**, 'to furnish' what was necessary for the occasion. **πεντήκοντα ταλάντων ἐξέδωκαν**, 'gave him the contract for 50 talents,' the gen. of value. **ὅσον ἦν τὸ τίμημα**, 'which was the exact amount of the assessment.' Cp. *Cor.* c. 21, 4 *ἦν δὲ τίμημα τῆς καταδίκης αΐδιος φυγή*, *Cat. ma.* c. 22, 1 *καταδίκην... τίμημα πεντακοσίων ταλάντων ἔχουσαν*, Herondas *Mim.* II 47.

CHAPTER XXVIII

§ **1.** l. **1.** **ἀπέλαυσε τῆς πατρίδος**, c. 31, 3.

2. **τῶν πραγμάτων συντριβέντων**: cp. 24, 1, *Cam.* c. 2, 4 *πόλις συντριβεῖσα μεγάλαις μάχαις*, *Cim.* c. 3, 2 *ἑκατέρου μὲν συντρίψαντος, οὐδετέρου δὲ καταλύσαντος τὸν ἀνταγωνιστήν.*

4. **Μεταγειτνιῶνος μηνός**: the Attic year in theory began with the summer solstice, which is now June 21st. Hecatombaeon, the first month, would correspond to June—July, Metageitnion, the second, to July—August. **ἡ περὶ Κρανῶνα μάχη** is mentioned by Pausanias X 3, 4: it is called by Polybius IX 29, 2 *ἡ περὶ Λαμίαν μάχη.* Cranon (Crannon) was a village in the Pelasgiotis district of Thessaly, not far from Larissa. It was the scene of the battle fought B.C. 322 on the 7th of Metageitnion (Aug. 6th)—the same day of the same month as the battle of Chaeronea (*Cam.* c. 19, 5)—in which Antipater and Craterus gained a decisive victory over the

combined army of the Greeks, and concluded the Lamian war—the grave of Grecian liberty not for the actual combatants only but for their posterity also (*Phoc.* c. 26, 1 ἡττήθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ διαρρυέντες αἴσχιστα προήκαντο τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, Diodor. XVIII 17). After this battle Xenocrates was sent with Phocion and others as ambassador to Antipater (*Phoc.* c. 27, 1, 2). Rather more than a month afterwards, the 20th of Boedromion (September 16), the anniversary of the battle of Salamis, the Macedonian garrison entered Munychia, under the command of Menyllus, on the very day on which the mysteries of the Eleusinian Demeter were being kept and there was a procession of citizens escorting the god Iacchus from Athens to Eleusis (*Phoc.* c. 28, 1). On the severe terms imposed by Antipater upon Athens—the disfranchisement and deportation of the 12,000 poorest citizens—see *Phoc.* c. 27, 4, Diod. XVIII 18, Grote, *Hist. Gr.* XII p. 436 ff. They were restored on the death of Antipater, Diod. XVIII 66.

5. **συνέπεσε,** *accidit.*

7. **Πυανεψιῶνος**: on the 16th day (Oct. 12), as appears from c. 30, 4.

8. **ἀπέθανε,** c. 14, 4.

§ **2.** l. **9.** **Κρατερός**: Craterus, one of Alexander's best and most honoured generals (*Alex.* c. 47, 5), had been commissioned by that king in B.C. 324 to lead back an army of veteran Macedonian soldiers from Cilicia into Macedonia, with orders to remain there and himself assume the regency, while the then vice-regent Antipater was to come over to Asia with fresh reinforcements. But, as Alexander's death intervened before Craterus reached Europe, on his arrival the two generals agreed to share the government between them. Craterus thus became involved in the Lamian war. In the spring of B.C. 321 Antipater and Craterus were suddenly called from prosecuting the war in Aetolia and crossed into Asia, where they began their conflict with Perdiccas (c. 31, 3), one of Alexander's generals, and fell in a battle against his general Eumenes in Cappadocia (*Eum.* c. 7, Diodor. XVIII 30—32). **ἠγγέλλοντο προσιόντες**: see G. *MT.* § 904 and cp. Thuc. III 16, 2 ἠγγέλλοντο αἱ νῆες τὴν περιοικίδα πορθοῦσαι, Xen. *Hell.* IV iii 13 ἔλεγεν ὡς ἀγγέλλοιτο ὁ Πείσανδρος τετελευτηκώς, Dem. *Ol.* III 4 ἀπηγγέλθη Φίλιππος ὑμῖν Ἡραῖον τεῖχος πολιορκῶν.

11. **φθάσαντες ὑπεξῆλθον** is the reverse of the usual construction ἔφθασαν ὑπεξελθόντες. Cp. Xen. *Cyr.* I v 3 εἰ μὴ φθάσας ἀσθενώσοι, III iii 18 φθάνοντες δῃοῦμεν τὴν γῆν, Thuc. IV 78, 5 Θεσσαλίαν φθάσας διέδραμε πρίν τινα κωλύειν παρασκευάσασθαι. See G. *MT.* § 895. By οἱ περὶ τὸν Δημοσθένη are meant Demosthenes himself, Hypereides, Aristonicus and Himeraeus (§ 4). The three last having taken refuge in Aegina and Demosthenes in Calauria, all of them were out of the reach of an Athenian sentence, but not beyond that of the Macedonian sword.

12. **αὐτῶν** with *κατέγνω*. **Δημάδου γράψαντος**, 'on the motion of Demades.' Reuss thinks it probable that Philochorus is the authority for this statement. See n. to c. 31, 3.

Nep. *Phoc.* c. 2;—*Phocion cum Demade de urbe tradenda Antipatro consenserat; eiusque consilio Demosthenes cum ceteris, qui bene mereri de republica existimabantur, plebiscito in exilium erant expulsi. Neque in eo solum offenderat, quod patriae male consuluerat sed etiam quod amicitiae fidem non praestiterat. Namque auctus adiutusque a Demosthene eum, quem tenebat, ascenderat gradum, cum adversus Charetem eum subornaret: ab eodem in iudiciis, cum capitis causam diceret, defensus aliquotiens liberatus discesserat.*

13. **ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ**, 'some in one place, others in another.'

15. **τοὺς συλλαμβάνοντας**: the present participle is used substantively (we should expect rather the future *τοὺς συλληψομένους*); G. *MT.* § 825.

§ **3.** l. **17.** **Θούριον ὄντα τῷ γένει**, 'a native of Thurium' (or Thurii) in Lucania, near the gulf of Tarentum, the town built on the site of the ancient Sybaris. **λόγος ἔχει**, 'the story goes.' Cp. c. 1, 1 *λόγος κρατεῖ*.

19. **Πῶλον**: Polus, the younger, of Aegina (c. 1, 2)—to be distinguished from the elder who was a native of Sunium (Attica)—of whom Aulus Gellius (*noct. att.* VII 5) says:—*Histrio in terra Graecia fuit fama celebri, qui gestus et vocis claritudine et venustate ceteris antestabat: nomen fuisse aiunt Polum; tragoedias poetarum nobilium scite atque asseverate actitavit etc.*

τῇ τέχνῃ, 'in his art' i.e. the art of acting. So 'actors' are called *οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται*, 'theatrical artists,' *Mor.* 87 F, 289 C, *Sull.* c. 26, 3, *Luc.* c. 29, 4, *Cleom.* c. 12, 2, *Ant.* c. 51, 4, *Brut.* c. 21, 3 and simply *τεχνῖται* by Polybius VI 47, 8, XXX 13, 2.

20. **ἱστοροῦσιν**, c. 4, 1; c. 11, 3. **Ἕρμιππος**: Hermippus of Smyrna, surnamed *ὁ Καλλιμάχειος* after his master Callimachus, flourished in the second half of the 3rd century B.C. (c. 5, 5; c. 11, 4; c. 30, 1). He was the author, among other works, of *Βίοι τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ διαλαμψάντων*, which included the *περὶ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῶν*, from which Plutarch's information is probably taken. Another, known to us from the Herculanean rolls, was *περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας εἰς τυραννίδας καὶ δυναστείας μεθεστηκότων*. See Hermippi *Fragmenta* ed. A. Lozynski Bonnae 1832, Müller *FHG* III 35—54.

21. **ἐν τοῖς Λακρίτου μαθηταῖς**: Lacritus of Phaselis (Pamphylia) was himself a pupil of Isocrates about B.C. 350. He lived at Athens. Amongst the collected speeches of Demosthenes there is one (*or.* XXXV, ascribed by some to Cephisodotus) written for a certain Androcles, who brought an action against this Lacritus. It was for the recovery of a sum of 3000 drachmas, which Androcles had lent to Artemon a brother of Lacritus, and which the speaker claimed from Lacritus after his brother's death.

22. **Δημήτριος** i.e. ὁ Φαληρεύς, not, as some, ὁ Μάγνης.

'Αναξιμένους: Anaximenes, of Lampsacus (on the Hellespont), rhetorician and historian, lived B.C. 390—320. (Müller *FHG* II 367 conjectures that the reference is here, as in c. 9, 4, c. 11, 1, to Demetrius's work *περὶ ῥητορικῆς*: cp. Gebhard *l. c.* p. 9.) He is said to have accompanied Alexander the Great in his expedition against Persia. His histories, which were more of a rhetorical than a historical character, are lost—viz. a history of Greece from the earliest ages to the death of Epaminondas in 12 books (*πρῶται ἱστορίαι*, Athenaeus VI c. 19, Diod. XV 89), 8 books of *Φιλιππικά* (*δεύτεραι ἱστορίαι*) and two books at least on the reign of Alexander (*τρίται ἱστορίαι*). He had some reputation in his day as a teacher of rhetoric and an orator. He was the author of the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise, known under the name of the *'Ρητορικὴ πρὸς 'Αλέξανδρον*, as was shown first by P. Victorius from a passage in Quintilian III 4, 8. See Baiter-Sauppe *orr. att.* II 320 f, Müller *Scr. rer. Alex. magni* p. 33—39.

διατριβῆς, 'philosophical conversation.'

23. **μετεσχηκέναι** may represent either the pluperfect of the direct form (see G. *MT.* § 123) or the aorist, as it sometimes does in Plutarch, *e.g.* *Timol.* c. 36, 1.

§ **4.** l. **24.** **'Υπερείδην.** See note to c. 12, 4.

25. **'Αριστόνικον τὸν Μαραθώνιον**: This may have been the 33
person mentioned several times by Demosth. (*de cor.* §§ 83, 223, 312), of the deme *Φρεαρροί* in the phylê *Λέοντις*, who was the proposer of a decree for conferring a crown on him.

27. **'Ιμεραῖον**: Himeraeus, though he belonged to the anti-Macedonian party, was one of the accusers of Demosthenes in the matter of the Harpalian treasure.

28. **τὸ Αἰάκειον**, the sanctuary which was built by the Aeginetans in honour of their king Aeacus. It was a square enclosed with walls of white marble, and he was believed to be buried under the altar within the enclosure. Pausanias II 29, 6.

29. **Κλεωνάς**: Cleonae was a small town on the road from Corinth to Argos, about 20 miles north of the latter. It derived its chief importance from the Nemean games being celebrated in its territory. Hence the festival is called by Pindar *ἀγὼν Κλεωναῖος*. Its position on a hill encircled by buildings justified the Homeric epithet *εὐκτιμέναι* (*Il.* II 570).

30. **τὴν γλῶτταν ἐκτμηθῆναι**: According to another account in *vit. X orr.* 849 B, Hypereides was dragged from the temple of Poseidon at Corinth and brought before Antipater, when he *διέφαγε τὴν γλῶτταν ὥστε μηδὲν ἐξειπεῖν τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἀπορρήτων δυνηθῆναι· καὶ οὕτως ἐτελεύτησε Πυανεψιῶνος ἐνάτῃ ἱσταμένου.* Hermippus's statement is also given with this:—*Ἕρμιππος δέ φησιν αὐτὸν γλωττοτομηθῆναι εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐλθόντα καὶ ῥιφῆναι ἄταφον, 'Αλφίνουν δέ, ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα αὐτῷ...διὰ Φιλοπείθους τινὸς ἰατροῦ λαβόντα ἐξουσίαν τοῦ σώματος*

καῦσαι αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ κομίσαι εἰς Ἀθήνας τοῖς προσήκουσι. The third account corresponds with that given by Plutarch that he was put to death at Cleonae and his tongue cut out.

CHAPTER XXIX

§ **1.** l. 2. **ἐν Καλαυρίᾳ**: Calauria was a small island off the coast of Argolis at the entrance to the Saronic gulf, closing the port of Troezen. The ancient temple of Poseidon there had been once a centre of Minyan and Ionian worship and was invested with a peculiar sanctity as having been from time immemorial an inviolable refuge for the pursued.

Cp. Strabo *Geogr.* VIII c. 6, 14 p. 373 *Τροιζὴν δὲ ἱερά ἐστι Ποσειδῶνος...Πρόκειται δὲ τοῦ λιμένος αὐτῆς, Πώγωνος τοὔνομα, Καλαυρία νησίδιον ὅσον τριάκοντα σταδίων ἔχον τὸν κύκλον· ἐνταῦθα ἦν ἄσυλον Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν......οὕτω δ' ἐπεκράτησεν ἡ τιμὴ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὥστε καὶ Μακεδόνες δυναστεύοντες ἤδη μέχρι δεῦρο ἐφύλαττόν πως τὴν ἀσυλίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἱκέτας ἀποσπᾶν ᾐδοῦντο τοὺς εἰς Καλαυρίαν καταφυγόντας· ὅπου γε οὐδὲ Δημοσθένη ἐθάρρησεν Ἀρχίας βιάσασθαι στρατιώτας ἔχων, ᾧ προσετέτακτο ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου ζῶντα ἀγαγεῖν κἀκεῖνον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ῥητόρων ὃν ἂν εὕρῃ τῶν ἐν ταῖς αἰτίαις ὄντων ταῖς παραπλησίοις, ἀλλὰ πείθειν ἐπειρᾶτο· οὐ μὴν ἔπεισέ γε, ἀλλ' ἔφθη φαρμάκῳ παραλύσας ἑαυτὸν τοῦ ζῆν.* 'The remains of the town of Calauria and of the celebrated temple of Neptune were discovered by Dr Chandler in 1765, near the middle of the island.' LEAKE, *Travels in the Morea* II 452.

3. **διαπλεύσας**: 'crossing' from the mainland. The subject is Archias. **ὑπηρετικοῖς** *sc. πλοίοις*, 'in pinnaces,' *Lys.* c. 10, 2 *πέμπων ὑπηρετικὰ πρὸς τὰς πρώτας τῶν νεῶν ἀτρεμεῖν ἐκέλευε*, *Dion* c. 22, 2 *εἰς ὑπηρετικὸν ἐμβάντα.*

5. **ἔπειθεν**, 'tried to persuade' c. 25, 1.

6. **ὡς πεισόμενον** = *λέγων ὅτι πείσεται* or *πείσοιτο.* Cp. Zosim. p. 151 *Ἀρχίου παρακρουομένου αὐτὸν ὡς οὐκ εἰς θάνατον ἄγοιτο.*

§ **2.** l. 8. **ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτός**, 'the preceding night,' that which ushered in the then day. **ἀλλόκοτον**, 'strange,' 'uncanny.' The word is defined by Wyttenbach to be *quidquid vehementer ab hominum natura, moribus, sensu, ratione, legibus abhorret.*

9. **ἐδόκει ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι τῷ Ἀ.**, 'he dreamt that he was contending for the victory with A.' Cp. *Demetr.* c. 29, 1 *Δημήτριος ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους Ἀλέξανδρον ὡπλισμένον λαμπρῶς ἐρωτᾶν*, *Per.* c. 3, 2 *αὕτη κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἔδοξε τεκεῖν λέοντα*, *Tim.* c. 8, 1 *ὄναρ ἔδοξαν ἰδεῖν τὰς θεὰς πρὸς ἀποδημίαν τινα στελλομένας.* For another construction of *δοκεῖν* in this sense, see my n. to *Them.* c. 26, 2 ed. 3.

10. **εὐημερῶν**, c. 5, 3, Aesch. *de f. l.* § 63 *εὐημερήσας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ᾠχόμην φέρων.* **κατέχων τὸ θέατρον**, 'though he held the audience entranced.' Cp. *Nic.* c. 12, 1 *κατασχόντος* (*plebem sui studiosam habentis*) *ἤδη πλῆθος ἐλπίσι καὶ λόγοις διεφθαρμένον*, *Mor.*

745 E τὰς ψυχὰς κατέχειν καὶ κατᾴδειν θελγομένας. But in *Phoc.* c. 19, 2 κατεῖχε τὸ θέατρον means 'he kept the audience waiting' by refusing to appear on the stage.

11. ἐνδείᾳ παρασκευῆς καὶ χορηγίας, 'for want of the necessary stage decorations and costumes,' because of the poverty of his *mise en scène*. Cp. Arist. *Poet.* c. 14, 3, Lyc. *c. Leocr.* § 13 ἀνάγκη συναρμόζεσθαι τῇ μὲν οἰκίᾳ τὴν κλίνην, τῇ δὲ κλίνῃ τὴν ἐσθῆτα, ταύτῃ δὲ τὴν ἄλλην χορηγίαν καὶ κατασκευήν.

12. φιλάνθρωπα, 'kindly.' Polybius often uses τὰ φιλάνθρωπα for 'friendly offices,' 'courtesies,' but this lower sense is peculiar to late Greek.

φιλανθρωπία does not ordinarily mean 'love of mankind' in general, but answers more nearly to our word 'humanity,' in which sense it is very commonly found in combination with χρηστότης. Plato (ap. Diog. Laert. III 98) reckons three kinds, (1) διὰ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν, greeting and shaking hands with every one you meet, (2) διὰ τοῦ εὐεργετεῖν, ὅταν τις βοηθητικὸς ᾖ παντὶ τῷ ἀτυχοῦντι, (3) διὰ τοῦ ἑστιᾶν καὶ φιλοσυνουσιάζειν, giving dinners and promoting social intercourse. FIELD *notes on Grk. Test.* p. 90, p. 136.

13. ὥσπερ ἐτύγχανε καθήμενος, 'seated as he was,' in the same posture i.e. without moving from his seat under the peristyle (πρόναος) of the temple.

14. οὔτε ὑποκρινόμενος κτἑ.: cp. *vit. X orr.* 846 F οὔτε ὅτε ἐτραγῴδεις ἔπειθές με, οὔτε νῦν πείσεις συμβουλεύων.

The taunts on Archias's profession, as an actor and as an indifferent actor, appear to me not worthy either of the man or the occasion......Whatever bitterness of spirit Demosthenes might choose to manifest, at such a moment, would surely be vented on the chief enemy, Antipater, not upon the mere instrument (*Grote*). Donaldson (*Hist. of Gr. Lit.* III p. 324) does not agree with Grote. 'If we compare' he says 'the moderate language in which Demosth. alludes to the histrionic antecedents of this tool of tyranny with his taunts against Aeschines, we may almost suppose that Archias softened down some unpleasant things that were said to him. The reference to Creon is quite in the spirit of Demosthenes: see *de cor.* § 180.'

§ 3. l. 17. τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ τρίποδος, 'the words inspired by the infallible Macedonian tripod (oracle)' i.e. the true and real sentiments of a Macedonian. Cp. Athenaeus II c. 6 ἐκ τρίποδος λέγειν φαμὲν τοὺς ἀληθεύοντας and the various passages quoted by Prof. J. E. B. Mayor on Iuv. Sat. VIII 126 *credite me vobis folium recitare Sibyllae* in *Journal of Philology* Vol. XX p. 271. **ἄρτι ὑπεκρίνου,** 'just now you were only acting a part.'

18. ἐπίσχες, 'stay,' 'wait.'

19. ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ, 'so as to be within the cella,' where the statue of the deity stood. **20. βιβλίον,** 'a scroll of papyrus paper.'

21. τὸν κάλαμον, 'the reed,' which he used as a writing quill.

23. κατέσχεν, 'retained it in his mouth.' **συγκαλυψάμενος,** 'drawing his mantle over him,' 'covering his head.' Cp. Xen.

Cyr. VIII vii 28 συνεκαλύψατο (where, however, ἐνεκαλύψατο is a variant), *Timol.* c. 4, 5 συγκαλυψάμενος εἱστήκει δακρύων, Charit. *Aphrod.* 1, 3 συγκαλυψαμένη δακρύων ἀφῆκε πηγάς. **ἀπέκλινε τὴν κεφαλήν,** 'bent his head on one side.' Cp. *Mor.* 760 A ἀπέκλινεν ἡσυχῇ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὡς δὴ καθεύδων, *Galb.* c. 27, 1 τὸν δὲ Γάλβαν ἀποκλιθέντος τοῦ φορείου...ἐκκυλισθέντα ἔτυπτον ἐπιδραμόντες, [Dem.] *adv. Callicl. or.* LV § 24 ἔλαιον δ' ἀποκλιθῆναι μὲν κεράμιον φάσκειν, οὐ μέντοι παθεῖν γε οὐδέν, in both of which passages the meaning seems to be 'tilted on one side' rather than, as Liddell-Scott, 'upset.'

§ **4.** l. **24.** **οἱ παρὰ τὰς θύρας**: in c. 30, 2 we have τοὺς παρὰ ταῖς θύραις.

34 **25.** **κατεγέλων ὡς ἀποδειλιῶντος**: cp. Xen. *Mem.* II vi 30 τούτων ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ κακῶν οὐδεὶς κατεγέλα.

26. **ἀπεκάλουν,** c. 9, 1; c. 23, 2.

27. **ἀνακυκλῶν,** 'repeating,' 'reiterating.'

29. **ἤδη συνῃσθημένος...ἐμπεφυκότος τοῦ φαρμάκου,** 'the moment that he knew from his sensations that the poison had taken effect upon him.' For the usage of ἐμφύεσθαι, see my note on *Nic.* c. 9, 1; and for the gen. participle not in indirect discourse after a verb of perception, G. *MT.* § 884.

30. **κρατοῦντος,** 'was getting the better of him.' Graux rashly adopts the reading of his pet MS **N**, νεκροῦντος, 'was paralysing.'

§ **5.** l. **31.** **διαβλέψας πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίαν,** 'looking Archias straight in the face.' Cp. *Mor.* 548 B ἐπιστάντες σιωπῇ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαβλέψαντες, *Alex.* c. 14, 2 διέβλεψεν εἰς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. **οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις,** 'you cannot be too soon,' is used with the participle as an exhortation, meaning 'the sooner the better,' G. *MT.* § 894.

32. **ὑποκρινόμενος Κρέοντα**: a reminiscence of the *Antigone* of Sophocles, where Creon, as king, forbids the burial of Polynices because he had borne arms against his country (*v.* 21 ff).

33. **ῥίπτων,** *abiciens:* cp. c. 20, 2, *Mor.* 368 F Καμβύσου τὸν Ἆπιν ἀνελόντος καὶ ῥίψαντος οὐδὲν προσῆλθεν οὐδ' ἐγεύσατο τοῦ σώματος.

34. **ἔτι ζῶν,** so as not to profane the sanctuary by the presence of a corpse.

35. **τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ** = ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου. The reading of **N**, which Graux adopts,—τὸ ἐπ' Ἀντιπάτρῳ, 'as far as depends upon Antipater'—appears to me to savour of a διορθωτής, like many of the other variants in this MS. For the coordination of the whole (τοῖς Μακεδόσιν) to the part (Ἀλεξάνδρῳ), see my n. to Thuc. VII 62, 2.

36. **κελεύσας ὑπολαβεῖν,** 'begging (some one) to support him, hold him up.' *Pyrrh.* c. 18, 6 γενόμενον πρὸς ταῖς θύραις οἱ παῖδες...

ὑπολαβόντες...εἰσῆγον (*ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον*), *Mor.* 162 D *τὸν νεκρὸν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ γῆς ὑπολαβοῦσα δελφίνων ἀγέλη...ἐκόμιζε.*

38. ἅμα τῷ προελθεῖν καὶ παραλλάξαι τὸν βωμόν, 'just as he had stepped forward and gone past the altar.' The Greek altars were outside of the temple proper, under the open sky and in a line with the *cella*, so that the offering of sacrifice could be seen by the statue of the deity.

39. ἀφῆκε τὴν ψυχήν, 'gave up the ghost.' Cp. Eur. *Or.* 1171 *ἐλευθέρως ψυχὴν ἀφήσω.*

A relief in white marble, representing Demosthenes seated on an altar, which bears the inscription ΔΗΜΩΣΘΕΝΗΣ ΕΠΙΒΩΜΙΟΣ was discovered amongst the ruins of Hadrian's Villa in A.D. 1737. It was disposed of in Dr Mead's sale London 1755 and then lost sight of until 1887, when its discovery was announced in the *Classical Review* (Vol. I p. 313) by Dr T. K. Abbott. It is now in the famous Library of Trinity College, Dublin. See *The Book of Trinity College, Dublin* (Belfast, 1892) p. 173. A cast of it has been presented by Dr J. E. Sandys to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The relief itself is probably a modern work.

CHAPTER XXX

§ **1.** l. **2.** **Ἀρίστων**, c. 10, 1. Cp. *vit. X orr.* 847 A *Σάτυρος δὲ ὁ συγγραφεύς φησι τὸν κάλαμον πεφαρμάχθαι, ᾧ γράφειν ἤρξατο τὴν ἐπιστολήν, οὗ γευσάμενον ἀποθανεῖν.* On Satyrus, see *Introduction.*

5. **Ἕρμιππος**, c. 28, 3.

ἀνείληφε: *ἀναλαμβάνειν* bears a multiplicity of meanings in Plut. Its meaning here is doubtful because we know nothing about Pappus. It may be 'has borrowed,' 'adopted' (cp. *Ages.* c. 20, 2 *λόγον ἀναγνοὺς ἐν βιβλίῳ ἀπολελειμμένον, ὃν ἔγραψε μὲν Κλέων, ἔμελλε δὲ λέγειν ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Λύσανδρος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ*), or 'has repeated;' cp. *Mor.* 1040 E *βέλτιον δὲ τὰς ἐκείνου λέξεις ἀναλαβεῖν*, 1065 A *ἄξιον δ' ἀναλαβεῖν τὸ δόγμα ταῖς ἐκείνου λέξεσιν.*

8. According to *vit. X orr.* 847 B, he wrote *Δημοσθένης Ἀντιπάτρῳ χαίρειν* on the *γραμματεῖον* which he called for.

The use of *μή* for *οὐ* after verbs of saying and thinking is common enough in late Greek, but in classical Greek only after such verbs as *ὀμνύναι, ὁμολογεῖν, μαρτυρεῖν, πιστεύειν* etc. which involve an action of the will. In a note to Xen. *Cyr.* VII i 18 *πάντες ἐροῦσι τὸ λοιπὸν μηδὲν εἶναι κερδαλεώτερον ἀρετῆς* (where *ἐροῦσι* = *ὀμοῦνται*), I ought to have referred to Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses* § 685 ed. ma. or Liddell-Scott *s. v. μή* B 5 c—an omission which I thank Prof. Gildersleeve for pointing out in a short notice of my edition in the *American Journal of Philology* vol. XII p. 387.

§ **2.** l. **9.** **τῆς περὶ τὸν θάνατον ὀξύτητος**: cp. c. 6, 1 *τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας φιλοτιμίας*, *Them.* c. 3, 3 *τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον μεταβολήν*, *Mor.* 102 B *ἡ περὶ σὲ διάθεσις* (*animi affectio tui*), 118 E *τὴν περὶ τὸν υἱὸν τελευτήν* (*filii mortem*), *Mar.* c. 2, 1 *τῇ περὶ τὸ ἦθος στρυφνότητι.*

διηγήσασθαι...ὡς...προσθοῖτο, 'told the story, that (or how) he applied.' For the syntax of the optative, see G. *MT.* § 669, 2

and cp. c. 4, 1; and for its form, instead of *προσθεῖτο*, G. *Gr.* § 122 Note 1, HA. *Gr.* § 445 b. In Plat. *Rep.* 420 C we have *προσθεῖναι φάρμακα* 'to administer poison' to another.

12. **ἄρα**, *nimirum*, 'strange to say.'

13. **ᾠήθησαν**, being in a parenthetical clause, is not influenced by the oblique construction, otherwise *οἰηθεῖεν* would have been necessary.

14. **τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν**, c. 16, 2.

15. **ἀπόδεσμον**, *linteolum colligatum*, 'bundle of linen.'

16. **ὡς φυλακτήριον**, not 'as an amulet'—although we know that 'amulets' (*περίαπτα*) were worn by the Greeks, even by Pericles (*Per.* c. 38, 1, *Mor.* 920 B *ἐν νοσήμασι χρονίοις*)—but as 'a preservative' against the violence of his enemies. Cp. Dem. *Phil.* II § 24 *ἓν δέ τι κοινὸν ἡ φύσις τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ἐν ἑαυτῇ κέκτηται φυλακτήριον.*

§ **3.** **Ἐρατοσθένης**, c. 9, 4. Cp. *vit. X orr.* § 48 p. 847 B *Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ ἐκ πολλοῦ δεδοικότα Μακεδόνας περὶ τῷ βραχίονι κρίκον περικεῖσθαι πεφαρμαγμένον· εἰσὶ δ' οἵ φασι συσχόντα αὐτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα ἀποθανεῖν· οἱ δ' εἶπον τοῦ κατὰ τὴν σφραγῖδα φαρμάκου γευσάμενον.*

17. **καὶ αὐτός**, not, as Büchsenschütz after Wyttenbach supposes, in opp. to *τῶν δ' ἄλλων* l. 19. **κρίκῳ**, 'ring.' Cp. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* XXXIII 1 6, 25 *alii sub gemmis venena cludunt, sicut Demosthenes, summus Graeciae orator, anulosque mortis gratia habent.*

18. **φόρημα περιβραχιόνιον**, 'an ornament worn on the arm.' Cp. Arist. *Thesm.* II *fr.* 5 *ὅσ' ἦν περίεργ' αὐτοῖσι τῶν φορημάτων.*

20. **δέ**, *autem.* **τὰς διαφοράς**, 'the discrepancies,' 'varying accounts.'

§ **4.** l. **21.** **Δημοχάρης**: *vit. X orr.* 847 C *εἶχε δὲ καὶ* (ὁ Δημοσθένης) *ἀδελφήν, ἐξ ἧς καὶ Λάχου Λευκονοέως ἀδελφιδοῦς αὐτῷ Δημοχάρης ἐγένετο, ἀνὴρ καὶ κατὰ πόλεμον ἀγαθὸς καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς λόγους οὐδενὸς χείρων.* He was one of the chief supporters of the anti-Macedonian party for upwards of 40 years after the death of his uncle, and continued at its head, holding some of the highest offices, until B.C. 303, when he was driven from Athens by the party of Demetrius Phalereus, one of whom—Stratocles—had proposed a decree containing the most fulsome adulation of Demetrius. An exclamation of one of the *καλοκαγαθοί*, that such a decree could only have been proposed by a madman, was endorsed by Demochares with the famous utterance *μαίνοιτο μέντἂν εἰ μὴ μαίνοιτο* (*Demetr.* c. 24, 5). Polybius (XII 13) defends him against the attacks of Timaeus, who had charged him with foul immorality. Besides some speeches, all of which have been lost, he left behind him an extensive history of his own times, which was written according to Cicero (*Brut.* 83, 286) *non tam historico quam oratorio genere.* Fragments are quoted from the xxth and xxist Books by Athenaeus (VI p. 252 F—253 B). See Müller *FHG* II p. 445—9.

23. **θεῶν τιμῇ**, 'because of the honour paid him by the gods.' This is explained by the participial clause *καταστρέψαντα κτλ.* 'by a quick and painless death.'

24. **ἐξαρπαγῆναι**, 'was rescued from.' Cp. *Ages.-Pomp.* c. 1, 2 Ἀγησίλαος Σφοδρίαν...ἀποθανεῖν ὀφείλοντα...ἐξήρπασε, *Sull.* c. 29, 1 Μαρίον ἐξαρπασόμενος τῆς πολιορκίας, Demosth. *de cor.* § 133. **καταστρέψαντα**: cp. c. 3, 3, *Them.* c. 31, 4, *Ti. Gr.* c. 31, 3. In *Thes.* c. 19, 4 we have the full phrase, κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.

25. **ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα Πυανεψιῶνος**, 'on the 16th of Pyanepsion,' = the 12th of October. Observe that in this expression ἐπί means 'in addition to,' as in c. 12, 1.

26. **σκυθρωποτάτην**, 'most gloomy.' The latter part of the compound (-ωπο) is otiose. The Thesmophoria was an annual festival in honour of the goddesses Demeter and Persephone (τὼ θεσμοφόρω) kept by the women of the best families of Athens for three days, the second of which was observed as a fast (νηστεία, Athenae. VII c. 80 p. 307 F, Arist. *Av.* 1519). As this fell on the 12th, not on the 16th, of Pyanepsion, it follows that either the date of the death of Demosthenes is incorrectly given by Plutarch or else its reference to the festival. See A. Schäfer *Dem. u. s. Z.* III 394 note 2.

27. **παρὰ τῇ θεῷ**, 'in the temple of the goddess,' at Eleusis.

§ **5.** l. **30.** **ἀποδιδούς**, 'by way of paying.' See note to c. 6, 2. **εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἀνέστησε**: The statue, which was the work of Polyeuctus, was erected in the agora at Athens, near the altar of the twelve gods, on the motion of Demochares, Ol. 125, 1 = B.C. 280.

See *vit. X orr.* § 55 p. 847 D:—Χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι σίτησίν τ' ἐν πρυτανείῳ τοῖς συγγενέσι τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἔδοσαν καὶ αὐτῷ τετελευτηκότι τὴν εἰκόνα ἀνέθεσαν ἐν ἀγορᾷ, ἐπὶ Γοργίου ἄρχοντος, αἰτησαμένου αὐτῷ τὰς δωρεὰς τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ Δημοχάρους. ᾧ καὶ αὐτῷ πάλιν ὁ υἱὸς Λάχης Δημοχάρους Λευκονοεὺς ᾐτήσατο δωρεὰς ἐπὶ Πυθαράτου ἄρχοντος δεκάτῳ ὕστερον ἔτει (B.C. 271). The decrees, which are preserved *vit. X orr.* 851 A—F, contain special accounts of the services rendered by uncle and nephew. There was also a monument of Demosth. in the peribolus of the temple at Calauria, Paus. II 33, 3.

32. **τῶν ἀπὸ γένους** = τῶν ἀπογόνων. Cp. *Them.* c. 32, 4, *Popl.* c. 23, 3. Demosth. as far as we know, left no family. His only daughter died B.C. 336 (c. 22, 2). **ἐν Πρυτανείῳ σίτησιν**, 'public maintenance in the Hall of the Prytaneis,' in which citizens who had deserved well of their country, and foreign ambassadors were admitted to dine as a privilege or mark of distinction. Suidas Δημοσθ. II says:—ἀτέλειαν τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ γένους ψηφίζονται.

34. **βάσει**, 'pedestal.'

35. **ῥώμην**, 'bodily vigour' (c. 4, 3))(**γνώμῃ**, 'determination of spirit.'

37. **τοῦτο ποιῆσαι**, 'composed this (inscription).' Cp. *vit. X orr.* § 44 p. 847 A αἰτήσας τε γραμματεῖον ἔγραψεν, ὡς μὲν Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης φησί, τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ ἐλεγεῖον, ἐπιγεγραμμένον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὕστερον Εἴπερ ἴσην κτλ.

38. **προσφέρεσθαι**, *ori admovere*. Cp. *Them.* c. 31, 4 ed. 3 φάρμακον ἐφήμερον προσενεγκάμενος with my note, *Mor.* 128 C

ἐν τῷ σώματι τοῦ προσφερομένου τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἡδυσμάτων ἐστίν, ἄνπερ ὑγιαίνοντι προσφέρηται, 468 F *ἐν τῷ πυρέττειν πικρὰ πάντα φαίνεται γενομένοις, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἴδωμεν ἑτέρους ταὐτὰ προσφερομένους καὶ μὴ δυσχεραίνοντας, οὐκέτι τὸ σιτίον ἀλλ' αὑτοὺς αἰτιώμεθα καὶ τὴν νόσον*, Satyrus ap. Athenae. VI p. 248 F *εἴ ποτε δριμὺ προσφέροιτο τῶν ἐδεσμάτων.*

39. κομιδῇ φλυαροῦσι, 'talk absolute nonsense.' Ps-Plut. 847 A makes Demetrius Magnes responsible for the statement.

CHAPTER XXXI

§ **1.** l. **1. πρόσθεν ἢ παραβαλεῖν,** 'before I arrived.' Cp. *Demetr.* c. 39, 1 *παραβαλόντος εἰς Θήβας μετὰ στρατιᾶς*, *Mor.* 518 F *ἐὰν δὲ καὶ παραβάλωσι διὰ χρόνου (εἰς ἀγρόν)*, *Dion* c. 4, 1 *θείᾳ τινὶ τύχῃ* Πλάτωνος *εἰς Σικελίαν παραβαλόντος*, Plat. *Lys.* 203, *δεῦρο δή, ἦ δ' ὅς, εὐθὺ ἡμῶν, οὐ παραβάλλεις*; *Rep.* VI 499 B *πρὶν ἂν...ἀνάγκη τις ἐκ τύχης παραβάλῃ*, VIII 556 C *ὅταν παραβάλλωσιν ἀλλήλοις οἵ τε ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι ἢ ἐν ὁδῶν πορείαις ἢ ἐν ἄλλαις τισὶ κοινωνίαις*, Arist. *Pol.* VII c. 14 *καὶ μήτε βάναυσον μήτε γεωργὸν μήτ' ἄλλον τοιοῦτον μηδένα παραβάλλειν μὴ καλούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων*, Dio Cass. 28, 51 *ἐς παλαίστραν παρέβαλλεν*, Acta Apost. c. XX 15 *παρεβάλομεν εἰς Σάμον*, where Field is wrong in doubting this sense of the word.

5. χρυσίδιον, 'a small sum of money.' Cp. *Cleom.* c. 38, 2 *ἵππον ἑαυτῇ παρασκευάσασα καὶ χρυσίδιον οὐ πολύ.*

6. ἕστηκε *sc. ὁ ἀνδριάς.* **τοὺς δακτύλους συνέχων δι' ἀλλήλων,** 'with the fingers interlaced,' 'folded one within another.' Cp. Arist. *Nub.* 966 *τὼ μηρὼ μὴ ξυνέχοντας*, *Vesp.* 95 *τοὺς τρεῖς ξυνέχων τῶν δακτύλων.*

§ **2.** l. **9. ἐκ τύχης,** 'accidentally.' So *ἀπὸ τύχης* *Them.* c. 9, 1, *κατὰ τύχην* *Per.* c. 26, 1 etc.

36 **11. οὐκ** with *ὀλίγον.*

13. διεδόθη λόγος ὑπὲρ τούτου, 'a report was spread abroad about it.' Cp. *Arat.* c. 6, 1 *διεδόθη λόγος ὡς*, *Them.* c. 19, 2, Isocr. *Phil.* § 7 *διαδοθέντος τοῦ λόγου διαλύσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ὑμᾶς.* For **ὑπέρ** = *περί*, see Gr. Index *s. v.* **τῶν εὐφυῶν,** c. 25, 5. **ὑπόθεσιν λαβόντες,** 'taking it for a subject.' Cp. c. 12, 3, *Pomp.* c. 42, 4 *τὸν ἀγῶνα...ἐθεάσατο τῶν ποιητῶν ὑπόθεσιν μίαν ἔχοντα τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις*, *Cic.* c. 25, 2 *μελέτης ἕνεκεν γυμνάζων τὸν λόγον εἰς φαύλην ὑπόθεσιν.*

14. εἰς τὸ ἀδωροδόκητον, 'on the incorruptibility, disinterestedness,' with *ἐπιγράμμασι.* Cp. c. 1, 1. For *διημιλλῶντο*, see my n. to *Them.* c. 5, 2 ed. 3 and cp. *Cic.* c. 4, 4 *διαμιλλᾶσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς ἐπαίνοις.*

§ **3.** l. **16. Δημάδην:** see on c. 23, 5. There are grounds for supposing the account of his death given here to be taken directly or indirectly from the *'Ατθίς* of Philochorus Book VI. See n. to

c. 28, 2. **τῆς φυομένης δόξης**, 'his growing reputation.' See cr. n.

17. **ἡ Δημοσθένους δίκη**, 'the retribution due to Demosthenes,' i.e. divine Justice avenging his death. Cp. Dionys. Hal. VIII 80 *τοίγαρτοι δίκη μὲν ἐκείνοις σὺν χρόνῳ τιμωρὸς οὐ μεμπτὴ* ('not to be despised') *παρηκολούθησε*, Aeschyli *Φρύγες fr.* 243:—

ἡμῶν γε μέντοι νέμεσις ἐσθ' ὑπερτέρα
καὶ τοῦ θανόντος ἡ δίκη πράσσει κότον.

18. **κατήγαγεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν**: He was sent there as envoy to solicit from Antipater the removal of the garrison from Munychia (c. 28, 1). See Diod. XVIII 48. **οὓς...ὑπὸ τούτων**: For the position of the relative clause and the emphatic repetition of the antecedent, Büchsenschütz compares *Cic.* c. 4, 5 *ἃ μόνα τῶν καλῶν ἡμῖν ὑπελείπετο, καὶ ταῦτα Ῥωμαίοις διὰ σοῦ προσγενόμενα, παιδείαν καὶ λόγον.* See G. § 152 Note 3, HA. *Gr.* § 996 b.

22. **ἐξέπεσεν**, 'leaked out.' Cp. [Plat.] *Ep.* II 314 A *εὐλαβοῦ μή ποτε ἐκπέσῃ ταῦτα εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀπαιδεύτους, οὐ γὰρ ἔστι τὰ γραφέντα μὴ οὐκ ἐκπεσεῖν.* The letter was discovered among the papers of Perdiccas after his death.

Perdiccas—to whom Alexander the Great on his death-bed handed the signet ring taken from his finger (Arrian *Anab.* VII 26, 5, Diod. XVII 117), when the satrapies were distributed among the principal officers of the deceased king—had none reserved to himself, but became guardian and prime minister to Philip Aridaeus, when he was proclaimed king, after the death of his brother Alexander. Profiting by the weakness of Aridaeus, he determined to engross for himself the real authority and in this purpose had a most effective auxiliary in Eumenes of Cardia, secretary of Alexander for several years until his death and afterwards satrap of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, when his secret intrigues were discovered and a league formed against him by Antigonus, the satrap of Phrygia, Antipater, regent of Macedonia, Craterus and Ptolemy, regent of Egypt and Libya. He was killed in Egypt by a mutiny of his own troops B.C. 321.

23. **ὡς...ἠρτημένους** = *λέγων ὅτι ἠρτημένοι εἶεν.* Cp. c. 29, 1.

24. **στήμονος**, 'warp.' There is some variation in the story as it appears in *Phoc.* c. 30, 5 *Κάσανδρος δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς γεγονὼς ηὗρεν ἐπιστολὴν Δημάδου γεγραμμένην πρὸς Ἀντίγονον εἰς Ἀσίαν, παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπιφανῆναι τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ σαπροῦ κρεμαμένοις στήμονος, τὸν Ἀντίπατρον οὕτω σκώψαντος*, where we read that, Phocion having declined the mission to Antipater, the Athenians *μεταβάντες Δημάδην παρεκάλουν· ὁ δὲ προθύμως ὑπέστη καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἔχων ἀπῆρεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν.* **Ἀντίπατρον**; see on c. 24, 1.

§ **4.** l. **25.** **Δεινάρχου**: Dinarchus, the last in point of time and importance of the ten Attic orators, was born at Corinth about B.C. 361. He came at an early age to Athens, where he became intimate with Theophrastus and Demetrius Phalereus (Dionys. *Dinarch.* c. 2). Being a foreigner, he could not plead personally but wrote speeches to be delivered by others in the law-courts. It was during the fifteen years of oligarchical rule (B.C.

322—B.C. 307) and under the administration of Demetrius Phalereus that he attained the summit of his reputation, under favour of Macedonian protection. Upon the capture of Athens by Demetrius Poliorcetes, he fled to Chalcis (Euboea), but was allowed to return B.C. 292, at the intercession of his old friend Theophrastus with Demetrius. Only three of his speeches have come down to us, written respectively for the prosecutors of Demosthenes, Aristogiton and Philocles in the Harpalian affair.

26. Κάσσανδρος, the elder son of Antipater (c. 13, 3), was born B.C. 355. He did not take part in the expedition of Alexander. After serving under Perdiccas for some time (B.C. 323), and then under Antigonus (B.C. 321), he returned to Macedonia before the death of his father (B.C. 318), and it was then that he put to death Demades and his son Demeas. He did not succeed his father as regent, and died B.C. 296 without having attained more than partial success, notwithstanding his prolonged struggles, in procuring for himself a fixed position. The battle of Ipsus (B.C. 301) in which Antigonus and Demetrius were defeated gave him Macedonia and Greece.

27. ἐγκατέσφαξε κτλ.: *Phoc.* c. 30, 6 *τὸν υἱὸν ἐγγὺς προσαγαγὼν προέσφαξεν, ὥστε καταδέξασθαι τοῖς κόλποις τὸ αἷμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ καταπλησθῆναι τοῦ φόνου.* **εἶτα** refers to what follows; **οὕτως**, to what precedes. Cp. Xen. *Anab.* VII i 4 *ἐκέλευσε συνδιαβάντα ἔπειτα οὕτως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.*

28. ἀνελεῖν προσέταξεν; cp. c. 29 l. 36. **ἐν** here = *διά* 'by means of.'

30. προαγορεύσαντος: The reference is to *de cor.* § 46 *συμβέβηκε τοῖς μὲν πλήθεσιν ἀντὶ τῆς πολλῆς καὶ ἀκαίρου ῥᾳθυμίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλεκέναι, τοῖς δὲ προεστηκόσι καὶ τἆλλα πλὴν ἑαυτοὺς οἰομένοις πωλεῖν πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς πεπρακόσιν αἰσθέσθαι.*

32. ἀπέχεις, 'you have received' what you were led to expect.

The verb *ἀπέχειν* means 'to receive what is due,' 'to receive in full payment,' 'to have enough.' *Mor.* 124 E *ἀπέχοντα τῇ φύσει τὸ μέτριον*, 217 D *ἀπέχεις τὰ διδασκάλια* i.e. *habes mercedem institutionis*, 227 D *καλὰ τροφεῖα ἀπέχεις*, 582 E *ἀπέχεις μετὰ τοῦ λόγου τὸν μῦθον* i.e. *accepisti cum oratione fabulam*, *Them.* c. 17, 2 *τὸν καρπὸν ἀπέχειν τῶν πονηθέντων*, *Sol.* c. 22, 4 *τὸν μισθὸν ἀπέχει*, *Alex.* c. 27, 4 *ἀπέχειν ἔκπλεω τὴν δίκην*, Arrian Epict. *Diss.* 3, 2, 13 *τὸ γὰρ εὐδαιμονοῦν ἀπέχειν. δεῖ πάντα ἃ θέλει καὶ πεπληρωμένῳ τινὶ ἐοικέναι*, Ev. Matt. VI 3 *ἀπέχουσι τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν*, Ep. Phil. IV 18 *ἀπέχω δὲ πάντα καὶ περισσεύω· πεπλήρωμαι*, where Bp. Lightfoot observes that the idea of *ἀπό*, as in *ἀπολαμβάνειν*, is correspondence i.e. of the contents to the capacity, of the possession to the desire etc., so that it denotes the full complement. 'The word *ἀπέχειν* seems' he adds 'to have been a favourite with the Stoics, like *αὐτάρκεια*, 'self-sufficiency.''

33. ἐξ ὧν ἀνέγνωμεν, c. 11, 2. **διηκούσαμεν**, 'we ascertained by hearsay.'

END OF EXPLANATORY NOTES

CRITICAL APPENDIX

APPENDIX ON THE TEXT

A. GENERAL REMARKS

Manuscripts

THE pair (συζυγία) of Lives, *Demosthenes-Cicero*, is unfortunately not one of those contained in either of the two oldest and best MSS of Plutarch, the Sangermanensis (xth cent.) or the Seitenstettensis (xIth cent.), nor in the two members of the same family as the Seitenstettensis—the Venetian 385 in the Library of St Mark (**M**^{b}) or the Paris 1676 in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* (**F**^{a}).

Some ten years ago the late Charles Graux found a MS in the *Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid, which contained some of Plutarch's *Lives*, among others those of *Demosthenes-Cicero*. A collation of this MS, which he designated as the Matritensis (**N**)[1], has brought to light some peculiar readings, which are indisputably superior to the traditional text, whether they are the inventions and improvements of a scribe or not, and led Graux to the conclusion that it represented

[1] The MS is in two parts; the first contains the lives of *Nicias* (part) and *Crassus; Alcibiades-Coriolanus; Demosthenes-Cicero; Agesilaus-Pompeius;* the 2nd, those of *Demetrius-Antonius; Pyrrhus-C. Marius; Aratus; Artoxerxes; Agis-Cleomenes-Gracchi; Lycurgus-Numa; Lysander-Sulla.* The two parts of the MS were written in the xIvth century by different hands and on different paper. They are, evidently, fragments of two different *Codices*, bound together by accident. The 2nd part is absolutely worthless. 'Codex **N** non solum passim cum uno pluribusve libris iam a Carolo Sintenis adhibitis facit ad antiquam vulgatam emendandam, vel diserte praebet unus scriptas quasdam lectiones ab acutissimis viris Jacobo Reiske, Adamantio Corai, Henrico Schaefer etc. excogitatas, sed etiam multis in locis quos ceteri codices manifesto habent depravatos et frustra usque ad hunc diem multi bonique critici tentaverant, veram, ut videtur, scripturam integram patefecit; immo vero genuina verba, sive leviter corrupta, ita tamen ut facili aut probabili correctione in pristinum nitorem restitui possint, sive plerumque intacta inviolataque, nobis reddere solet, quae aut funditus e narratione sublata aut fallaciter cum aliis idem significantibus commutata diu doctissimos peritissimosque iudices, magno Plutarchi incommodo detrimentoque, fefellerant' (*C. Graux*).

a more authoritative and trustworthy text than any of the MSS of Plutarch hitherto known, and he made it the basis of his edition of the two lives (Hachette, Paris 1882, 1883).

Prof. A. Gudeman, however, of the Johns Hopkins University, in an Article contributed to the *American Journal of Philology* Vol. XI 312 ff, has proved satisfactorily that Graux overestimated the value of this Codex and that its prestige is considerably impaired by its absurd errors as to proper names. Thus in c. 5, 5 where Plutarch quotes Hermippus, the well known writer, as his authority for the statement that Dem. had been a hearer of Plato, the copyist of **N** (or one of his predecessors) inserts ὁ ποιητής, evidently taking him for the poet of the old Comedy—an error which renders the whole passage supremely ridiculous. In c. 10, 2 Θεόφραστος is substituted for φιλόσοφος, though it is obvious that Plutarch is speaking of Ariston not of Theophrastus. The substitution of Φωκίων for the Vulgate Δημάδης is not difficult to explain, because in the *Life of Phocion* c. 17, 1 Plutarch distinctly states that it was Phocion who was sent to intercede with Alexander. (Diodorus (XVII 15) expressly names Demades, Arrian (I 10, 6) does not give any name at all.) Kraner *ad l.*, with whom Sintenis (Zimmerm. *Zeitschrift* 1839 p. 112) agrees, is of opinion that Plutarch *more suo* was misled by his partiality for Phocion, when writing his life, into giving him the credit of so eminently successful a mission. Lastly in c. 14, 3 Theopompus is quoted in the MSS for a statement which is most complimentary to Demosthenes. In **N**, however, the reading Θεόφραστος is here again substituted, which Graux vainly endeavours to justify on independent grounds. Cp. K. Stegmann's remarks in *Philologische Rundschau* Oct. 28, 1882.

C. Graux[1] has also drawn attention to the merits of the Vatican MS 138 (**U**) of the X—XIth cent. In two places of this Codex the leaves of the ancient parchment copy have been lost and were replaced (probably in the second half of the XIVth cent.) by a paper substitute, on which the missing part of the text has been rewritten. One of these gaps commenced at the words ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως l. 13 of the 3rd Chapter of the *Life of Demosthenes* and extended as far as the end of the σύγκρισις, with which the volume concludes, so that the lives of the two orators are written throughout in this XIVth cent. hand, with the exception of a few lines at the beginning. We cannot tell what archetype was followed by the transcriber of this supplementary part, but Graux, who collated the volume, asks us to take it for granted that it must have been one of the same family as the *Codex Matritensis*. Be that as it may, he pronounces the text to be superior to that of the original parchment.

The Codex Laurentianus LXIX 4 (**K**)[2], remarkable for the excellence of its material execution, is apparently a mere reproduction of **U**.

The Harleianus (**H**) 5692 in the British Museum in minuscules,—XIVth cent. 4to paper pp. 347—contains 19 lives in the

[1] See *Notes sur deux Manuscrits de Plutarque* par feu Charles Graux in *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études Grecques en France* 16e Année 1882 p. 112.

[2] R. Schöll (*Hermes* V p. 124 note) says of this MS:—'ist lediglich eine von einem Kalligraphen der Mediceer elegant geschriebene, aber sicherlich werthlose Handschrift des 1. Buchs der Parallelen.'

following order:—*Alexander-Caesar; Sertorius-Eumenes; Lysander-Sulla; Alcibiades-Coriolanus; Pelopidas-Marcellus; Tiberius* and *Gaius Gracchus; Philopoemen-Flamininus; Cato ma.; Cicero-Demosthenes; Galba; Otho*, with ten of the *Moral Essays:* (1) *περὶ ἠθικῆς ἀρετῆς*, (2) *συμπόσιον φιλοσόφων*, (3) *πολιτικὰ παραγγέλματα*, (4) *βασιλέων καὶ στρατηγῶν ἀποφθέγματα*, (5) *λακωνικὰ ἀποφθέγματα*, (6) *συναγωγὴ ἱστοριῶν παραλλήλων Ῥωμαϊκῶν καὶ Ἑλληνικῶν*, (7) *εἰ καλῶς εἴρηται τό, Λάθε βιώσας*, (8) *εἰ αὐταρκὴς ἡ κακία πρὸς κακοδαιμονίαν*, (9) *περὶ τῆς εἰς τὰ ἔγγονα φιλοστοργίας*, (10) *ὅτι οὐδὲ ζῆν ἡδέως ἔστι κατ' Ἐπίκουρον*. The MS—originally one of the four Greek in the Library of Cardinal Niccolo da Cusa[1]—has some variants not of the common type which present a striking resemblance, even in obvious errors and omissions, to those preserved in Lambinus' copy of Demosthenes (Paris 1570), on which see below. The MS has been hitherto, as far as I know, uncollated.

The other MSS on which we have to depend for constituting the Text of these *Lives* are as follows:—

I The six in the National Library, Paris, of the XIIIth—XVIth centuries, used by Sintenis:—1671 (**A**), 1672 (**B**), 1673 (**C**), 1674 (**D**), 1675 (**E**), 1677 (**F**). A reading in which **ADC** (represented in this edition by the symbol **O**) concur, may be accepted as pretty certain, but the authority of **AD** combined outweighs that of **C** unsupported. The combination **ABCDE** is represented by the symbol **O**².

II The seven Italian MSS (**Q**), selected readings from, rather than a continuous collation of, communicated by D. Jarotti Secretary of the Florentine Republic to Muretus. Some of these have been published by Christian Walz in Zimmerman's *Zeitschrift* a. 1834 fasc. 12 and a. 1835 fasc. 12.

III The Bodleian (Oxford) 137 (**B**ᶜ), collated by A. Bryan with the edition of H. Stephanus.

The uncritical medley called the *Lectiones Vulcobianae* (**V**) and the *Lectiones Anonymi* (**x**), printed at the end of the Frankfurt and Paris (a. 1624) edd., being chiefly conjectural readings of Xylander; also the readings entered in a copy of Demosthenes' works (Paris 1570) belonging to Dionysius Lambinus—those found between the lines of text (**l**) and those in the margin (**ml**)—are other factors for determining the text. On the two former of these as well as on another important factor, that of hiatus—the discovery of G. E. Benseler—the reader will find some observations in my Edition of the *Life of Timoleon*, p. 156—7.

[1] For an account of the numerous MSS in 14 different departments of literature in his Library, see the article in the *Serapeum* 1864 Nos 23, 24, 1865 Nos 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 written by Dr Fr. Xav. Kraus. In the Text Dr Kraus speaks of 'fünf in hebräischer und eben so viele in griechischer Sprache,' but in a note he quotes 'die Rubriker' as giving only *four* Greek. In a subsequent number 1865 No. 7 p. 98 he gives a full description of the four; the missing one is doubtless our Harleian Plutarch.

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B. CRITICAL NOTES

Abbreviations

Bk = Bekker	Sch = G. H. Schaefer
Br = Bryan	Si[1] = Sintenis 1839—1846
Bu = Büchsenschütz	Si[2] = Sintenis 1889
Co = Cobet	So = Solanus (du Soul)
Do = Doehner	St = ed. Stephaniana
Rsk = Reiske	Wy = Wyttenbach

CAP. I

1 § **1.** l. **1.** *τοῖς* **H** *ῇ* suprascr. et *ι* del.: *τῆς* om. **1.** || **4.** **ὦ Σόσσιε Σενεκίων N**: *Σόσσιε* **H** vulgo || **6. τὰν N H E F** Si[1]Bu: *τὴν* Bk v. || **10. οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι διαφέρειν N**: *οὐδὲν διαφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι* **H** v. || **11. ἀμόρφου H** v: *ἀδόξου* **N.**

§ **2.** l. **14. τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀφελεῖν N**, ut in *Per.* c. 8, 5:—*οἷον τὸ τὴν Αἴγιναν ὡς λήμην τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀφελεῖν κελεῦσαι*: vulgo *ὡς λήμην ἀφαιρεῖν τοῦ Πειραιῶς* ut in *Mor.* 186 C: *τοῦ Πειραιῶς περιελεῖν* **C** margo Mureti **V**: verbum prorsus om. **H** cum novem Sintenianis. || **17.** alterum *καί* om. **H.** || **ἐξενεγκεῖν N**: *προενεγκεῖν* **H** vulgo.

2 § **3.** l. **17. τὰς μὲν γάρ N**: *τὰς γάρ* **H** v. || **18. ἢ δόξαν H** v: *καὶ δόξαν* **N.** || **22. φύσεώς γε** Bryanus coni.: *φύσεώς τε* **N H** v. || **23. ἐπιλαβομένην N**: *ἐπιλαμβανομένην* **H** v. || **εἴ τι N A D H 1** Bk Si Do Bu: *εἰ* vulgo. || **24. βιοῦν H** v: *τοῦ βιοῦν* **N.** || **25. μικρότητι N**: *σμικρότητι* **H** v.

CAP. II

§ **1.** l. **3.** *ξένων τε πολλῶν καὶ οἰκείων διεσπαρμένων . . . ἀναγνωσμάτων* **H1**: *ξένων τε τῶν πολλῶν καὶ διεσπαρμένων* vulgo. || *εἰκῇ* **ml** ante *διεσπαρμένων.* || **5. χρή N H** v: *χρῆν* Campe Graux, quod *ἀπεδίδου* saltem postularet. || **6. τὰν N H E F O**: *τὴν* v. || **7.** *βιβλίω* **H.** || **8. ἔχων** de meo dedi pro vulgari *ἔχειν*. Constructio haec est: (*ὡς* = *ὅπως*) *quo scriptor opus edat non prorsus macrum et partibus omnibus defectum sed paulo plenius atque copiosius, utpote copiis librorum affluens et numero virorum doctorum, quorum ex ore excipiat atque eliciat ea, si quae memoriarum scriptarum auctores effugere* (Reiske). || **9. διαφυγόντα** (*quae latuerunt*) **N**: *διαφεύγοντα* (*quae latebant*) **H** v. || *μνήμης ἐπιφανεστέρας, a memoria viri illustrioris* illa adhuc infixa memoriae suae tenentis, malit Reiske. || **11. μηδενὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων N**: *μὴ πολλῶν μηδ' ἀναγκαίων* **H** v. || **ἀποδιδοίη** vulgo: *ἀποδιδῷ* malit Schaeferus.

§ **2.** l. **13. μικρὰν μέν N**: *μικράν* **H** v. || **15.** *παρά* **H.** || **21. συντάγμασιν N**: *γράμμασιν* **H** v. Cp. *Num.* c. 22, 3, *Mor.* 1036 C, 1115 A.

3 § **3.** l. **23. τὰ** om. **1.** || **25.** <*ὧν*> quod deest in codd. addidit Reiskius: idem *ἐμπειρίαν* coni., quod habet **N**; *ἐμπειρίας* (acc. pl.)

H v; *ἐξ ἧς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀμωσγέπως εἴχομεν ἐμπειρίας* corrigebat Stephanus; *ὡς, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀμωσγέπως εἴχομεν ἐμπειρίας* Buechsenschuetzius, ut *ἐμπειρίας* (gen.) pendeat ab *ἀμωσγέπως*, 'because I had some sort of experience:' idem *διὰ τοῦτο* pro v. *διὰ ταῦτα*; *δι' αὐτά* **N**; *διὰ ταύτας* (sc. *ἐμπειρίας*) Sch. ‖ **30. εὐχερής** **H** v; *εὐμαρής*, coniecturam Cobeti, recepit C. Graux cl. *Sol.* c. 30, 5; *οὐκ ἀμαθὴς γένοιτ' ἂν* **N.**

CAP. III

§ **1.** l. **6. ἐπισκεψόμεθα** et mox l. 9 **ἐάσομεν** **K** v: *ἐπισκεψώμεθα* et *ἐάσωμεν* cum **N** C. Graux, qui comparari iubet *Fab.* c. 1, 1 *τοιούτου τοῦ Περικλέους...γεγονότος..., ἐπὶ τὸν Φάβιον τὴν ἱστορίαν μεταγάγωμεν*, *Agis* c. 2, 6 *παραβάλωμεν δ' αὐτοῖς* (sc. *τοῖς Γράγχοις*) *Λακωνικὸν ζεῦγος δημαγωγῶν, Ἆγιν καὶ Κλεομένη τοὺς βασιλεῖς*, et imprimis *Dion.* c. 2, 4 *ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰς ἄλλον ἀνακείσθω τόπον, ἐν τούτῳ δέ, δωδεκάτῳ τῶν παραλλήλων ὄντι βίων, τὸν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου* (*sc. τὸν τοῦ Δίωνος βίον*) *προεισαγάγωμεν.* ‖ **8.** *πότερον* **HKABDEFia.** ‖ **9.** *ἦν* **N**: vulgo abest.

§ **2.** l. **11. Καικίλιος** **NK** ed. Stephaniana: *Κεκίλιος* **H** v. ‖ **12. λόγου** unus **N.** ‖ **14. τὸ πρόσταγμα** **K**: *πρόσταγμα* **H** v.: *τὸ πρᾶγμα* **N**, unde **τὸ γράμμα** cogitabam cl. *Mor.* 472 C *δεῖ τῷ Πυθικῷ γράμματι πειθόμενον αὐτὸν καταμαθεῖν.* ‖ **15. Δημοσθένει γὰρ Κικέρωνα τὸν αὐτὸν** **N K**: vulgo *Δημοσθένη γὰρ* (*Δημοσθένην δέ* **H1**) *καὶ Κικέρωνα τὸν αὐτόν*: aut *Δημοσθένη γὰρ Κικέρωνι τὸν αὐτὸν* aut *Δημοσθένη καὶ Κικέρωνα ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν* Coraes coni.: *Δημοσθένη δὲ καὶ Κικέρωνα ὁ αὐτὸς ἔοικε πλάττων...δαίμων* coni. Wy. ‖ **16.** *τὸν αὐτὸν* v: *πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον* **ml.** ‖ **18.** *ἐμβαλὼν* **K.** ‖ **αὐτοῦ** **NABDEHK**: *αὐτῶν* v.

§ **3.** l. **25. τῶν πατρίδων** **N**: *τῆς πατρίδος* **H** v. ‖ **27. ἅμα δὲ καί** **N**: *ἅμα δέ* **H** v. 4

§ **4.** l. **30.** *χαλεπῶς μέν* **H** Si[1] Do v.: *μέν* del. Sch Si[2] Bk Bu Gr.

CAP. IV

§ **1.** l. **5. τοὺς τοῦτο** **ADH1**: *τοῦτο* v. ‖ **6.** *γύλονος* **1.** ‖ **7. φεύγοντος,** *exulantis* **N**: *φυγόντος, eiecti* **H** vulgo. ‖ **γεγόνοι** **NBDCB**^{c}**V** *γρ* **ml**: *ἐγεγόνει* v: *γεγόνει* **H1.** ‖ **9.** *καί* om. **H1.**

§ **2.** l. **12.** *σύμπασ' ἡ τίμησις* **N.**

§ **3.** l. **16.** *διὰ ταῦτα* **N.** ‖ **21. κάτισχνος** **H** v: *ἁπαλός* **N.** Non fefellit certe Jacobum Amyot haec varietas lectionis quippe qui gallice interpretatus sit '*a cause qu'il estoit en ses premiers ans foible, gresle et maladif.*' Codicem autem aliquem eum consuluisse in quem duplex illa scriptura (*ἁπαλός, κάτισχνος*) esset uno ordine recepta in aperto est; unde colligitur codicem unum pluresve Matritensi nostro propinquitate coniunctos in Italiae bibliothecis Jacobi Amyot tempore fuisse et fortasse etiam nunc asservari (*Graux*). ‖ **22. διὸ** **NADH1.** Facile est intellectu quomodo post ΝΟϹѠΛΙϹ, ΔΙΟ 5

oculos scribae fugerit, sic enim saepius *νοσώδ|ς* pro *νοσώδΗς* in codd. MStis vel antiquissimis scriptum fuisse nemo nescit (*Graux*). ‖ **23** *βάτταλον* **H 1.**

§ **4.** l. **27.** **ἔνιοι δέ τινες H** vulgo, quod stare potest teste Platone in *Politico* c. 40 p. 302 A: *πάσχουσαι γὰρ δὴ τοιαῦτα αἱ πόλεις νῦν χρόνον ἀπέραντον, ὅμως ἔνιαί τινες αὐτῶν μόνιμοί τέ εἰσι καὶ οὐκ ἀνατρέπονται· πολλαὶ μὴν κτλ.*: *ἕτεροι δέ τινες* **N.** ‖ **29.** *ματάλλου* **H.**

§ **5.** l. **32.** **᾿Αργᾶς N** Si²; *῎Αργας* v. ‖ **καὶ τοῦτο γάρ H** v: *καὶ τοῦτο* **N.** ‖ **33.** **παρωνύμιον** Co Gr.: *παρώνυμον* **H** vulgo; *παρωνύμενον ὃ* **N.**

CAP. V

§ **1.** l. **1.** Verba *κατὰ Πλάτωνα*, quae post *ταύτῃ* habent libri, expulit primus Wyttenbachius.

6 § **2.** l. **14.** **ἀκροάσεται τῶν λεγόντων N**: *ἀκούσεται τῶν λεγομένων* **H** vulgo. Conferri iubet C. Graux *Pomp.* c. 42, 5 *ἐν δὲ Ῥόδῳ γενόμενος πάντων μὲν ἠκροάσατο τῶν σοφιστῶν.*

§ **3.** l. **17.** **ὑπὸ πολλῶν N** Co i.q. *ὑπὸ πολλοῦ πλήθους ἀνθρώπων*, 'de grande suite de gens': *ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν* **H** v, quod idem valet atque *ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου*: *ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν* coni. Bryanus. ‖ **18.** *ἐθαύμαζε* **1.** ‖ **καὶ κατενόησε** addunt **N H 1**, marg. **A D V x.** ‖ **19.** **ὡς N**: vulgo abest. ‖ **22.** **ὡς ἄν N A D H 1**; *ὡς δή* malit C. Graux. Mox **καὶ αὐτός** addit Co cum **N A D H 1 V.**

§ **4.** l. **29.** **ἐπὶ τὴν χρείαν H** v; *εἰς τὴν χρείαν* **N.**

§ **5.** l. **30.** post **φησίν** addit *ὁ ποιητής* **N**, quod *ποτέ τισιν* tegere putat C. Graux, *ὁπήποτ'* C. Schenkl (Bursian *Jahresber.* 1884 p. 218). ‖ **32.** *τῷ Πλάτωνι* **N.** ‖ *ὠφελεῖσθαι* **H** v. ‖ **34.** **καὶ τὰς ᾿Ισοκράτους N**; *τὰς ᾿Ισοκράτους* v.

CAP. VI

7 § **1.** l. **1.** **δ' οὖν N**; *γοῦν* **H** v. ‖ **6.** post *κατευτυχήσας* commate interpungit St. ‖ **10.** **ἐνεχείρησεν N**: *ἐπεχείρισεν* **H**; *ἐπεχείρησεν* v.

§ **2.** l. **14** et **16.** *οὕτω* **A E H 1.** ‖ **18.** **ἐκ τούτου A D H** Si Do Bk Bu: *ἐκ δὲ τούτου* **1** vulgo.

§ **3.** l. **21.** **γε** addiderunt **A D H 1.** ‖ **25.** **πικρῶς** vulgo: *ψυχρῶς* Wyttenbach Co: *πυκνῶς* alii. ‖ **29.** **διεσπάσθαι N**: *διασπᾶσθαι* v; *διασπάσθαι* **H**: *διεσπᾶσθαι* **C.**

CAP. VII

8 § **1.** l. **1.** **πάλιν δέ ποτέ φασιν H** v; *πάλιν δέ φασιν* **N.** ‖ **3.** **συγκεχυμένου** (*pudore confusi*) **N**: *συγκεκαλυμμένου* (*tecta facie* ut c. 29, 3) **H** v. ‖ **4.** **ἐπακολουθῆσαι N**: *ὑπακολουθῆσαι* **H** v. ‖ **5.** **συνεισελθεῖν N**: *συνελθεῖν* **H** vulgo.

§ **2.** l. **18.** **εὐθὺς N**; vulgo abest.

§ **3.** l. **23.** **ἐκ δὲ τούτου N**: *ἐκ τούτου* **H** v. || **26.** **κατιόντα N B**: *προσιόντα* **H** v. || **καὶ** om. **H.** || **30.** *προελθεῖν* **ml** c. octo Sintenianis: *προσελθεῖν* **H** v.

CAP. VIII

§ **2.** l. **8.** *εἰς ἑαυτὸν* **H** v. || **11.** **ἑτέρου H 1** c. novem 9
Sintenianis; *ἑτέρων* v. || **ἑαυτὸν H 1** c. quinque Sintenianis; *αὐτόν* v. || *αὐτοῦ* **A.** || **πρὸς B^c H V 1**: *εἰς* v. || **12.** **ἔσχεν N**: *εἶχεν* **H** v. Cf. c. 12, 3 l. 24.

§ **3.** l. **17.** *καὶ* ante *καθήμενον* v, om. **H 1.** || *καθήμενος* **D H 1.** || **20.** **δὲ** post **τοῦτο** addiderunt **A D H V 1.**

§ **4.** l. **23.** *τοῦτο* **1.** || **26.** **γράψας H v** Si Bk Bu: *γράψαι* (*sic*) Wy Graux Do.

CAP. IX

§ **1.** l. **3.** **ἀποκαλεῖ N**: *ἀπεκάλει* **H** v. || **7.** **Μυριναίου** 10
Xylander: *Σμυρναίου* **N**: *μυρρηναίου* **H** v.

§ **2.** l. **9.** **τοῦτ'** addidit **N.** || **10.** **παραναστὰς H** v: *παραστάς* **C 1.** || **13.** **γεγόνασι κακῶν H 1** cum octo Sintenianis: *κακῶν γεγόνασιν* vulgo. || **15.** **ὑπεκδῦναι O H**: *ὑπεκδύναι* v.

§ **3.** l. **17.** **καλὰ** addidit **N.** || **22.** **προσίεσθαι N ml**: *προΐεσθαι* **H** v. || *ἐπὶ τύχῃ* (*ἐπὶ τυχη* **H**) Si Do Bk Bu.

§ **5.** l. **33.** **ῥωποπερπερήθραν B^c H ml**, Stephani 'vet. exempl.'; 11
ῥωποπερήθραν **ia.** || **36.** **ἠγάπησέ γ' ἂν** coni. Dobraeus: *ἠγάπησεν ἂν* Si Bk Do Bu: *ἠγάπησε γάρ* **H** libri. || **39.** **ὁ** om. **H 1.** || **41.** *περί* **H**; cf. c. 12, 4. Ceterum verba *περὶ συλλαβῶν διαλεγόμενος* post *Φιλίππου*, in ceteris exemplaribus plane omissa, diserte in **N** exarata sunt. Cf. Aesch. *Ctes.* § 83, quo fonte in his memorandis usus esse Plutarchus videtur: *ὁ δὲ ἀπηγόρευε μὴ λαμβάνειν εἰ δίδωσι ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδίδωσι, περὶ συλλαβῶν διαφερόμενος* (*Graux*). Cum asterisco addit margo **A**, sine asterisco **D H 1.**

CAP. X

§ **1.** l. **3.** *αὐτὸν σχεδιάζοντα* **H** v: corr. Bryanus. || **8.** *ὁποῖος δὲ Δημάδης* **H** v; *τις* addidit **N.**

§ **2.** l. **10.** **φιλόσοφος H** v: *Θεόφραστος* **N.** || *Σφήτιον* **1.** || **16.** *ὁσάκις ἂν...ἀναβαίνοι* **H** v. 12

CAP. XI

§ **1.** l. **5.** *ἀκοῦσαι* **N.** || **πρεσβύτου H** v: *πρεσβυτέρου* **C E.** || **τὴν μὲν γάρ N**: *τὴν μέν* **H** v.

§ **2.** l. **8.** *ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις γυμνάζεσθαι* **H** v. || **9.** **ἀναβάσεσι N**: *προβάσεσι* **H** v: *προσβάσεσι* coni. Co Si Bk. || **13.** *ἐξ ἐναντίας ἱστάμενον* **H** v. || **14.** **αὐτῷ** om. **H.**

13 § **4.** l. 27. **Αἰσίωνα N ml**: *ἀππίωνα* **A D H l.** || *ἐπερωτηθέντα* **N.** || **35. πικρόν H ml** v: *πυκνόν* **l.** || **36.** *ταῖς ἀπαντήσεσι ταῖς παρὰ τὸν καιρόν* **H**: *περὶ τὸν καιρόν* **l.** || **39.** *κωλλυτῷ* **H l.** || **40.** *ἀπεκαλεῖτο* **l.**

§ **6.** l. **44. γινομένας D** Co: *γενομένας* **H** v. || **46.** post *τούτων* addidit **N** *καὶ ἑτέρων γελοίων.* || **49.** *δίκαιος* **l.**

CAP. XII

§ **1.** l. **3. ἔστιν** om. **H**: post *δημηγοριῶν* ponit **l.**

14 § **2.** l. **13. τι H** v: *τοι* **E** Rsk. || *ἦν* om. **E.** || **14. πρός N**: *περί* v. || **15.** *τὸ ἔργον* **E**: <*ὃν*> addidi de meo. || **16.** *πεπραγμένον* **H.**

§ **3.** l. **19. ἀμβλῦναι D C E H**: *ἀμβλύναι* v. || **21.** *δέ* om. **H.**

§ **4.** l. **28.** *περί* ut solet pro *παρά* **H**: *ἐπί* **l**: *παρά* **ml.** || **32.** *ὑπέρ* **H.**

CAP. XIII

15 § **1.** l. **8.** *ἄχρι τέλους* **H.** || **9. μεταβαλόμενος** Reiskii **A D B E**: *μεταβαλλόμενος* **H** v. || **10.** *ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ μεταβάλλεσθαι* **B**^{c} **B C D E H**: *ἐν τῷ μὴ μεταβάλλεσθαι* v.

§ **2.** l. **11. ἀπολογούμενος τὴν...μεταβολήν N**; *ἀπολογούμενος διὰ τὴν μεταβολήν* **H** vulgo. Aut *δ ι ά* prorsus delendum aut *δ ή* reponendum viderat iam Solanus; contra *διά* pro *περί* Coraes *τοῦ παρακμάζοντος* Ἑλληνισμοῦ esse notat (*Graux*). || **12. αὐτός N**: *αὐτόν* **H** v Si; [*αὐτόν*] Bekkerus. || **15.** *μεταπειθόμενος* malit Reiskius.

§ **3.** l. **17. Κασσάνδρῳ N B ml**: Κασάνδρῳ **H** v. || **18. ὑπέρ O**^{2} **H l**: *ὑπὲρ τοῦ* v. || **22. ἀφ' ἑνός** Coraes cl. *Mor.* 550: *ἐφ' ἑνός* **N H** v.

§ **4.** l. **25. αὐτοῦ φησίν N**: *φησὶν αὐτοῦ* **O**^{2} **H.** || **26. οὕτω** om. **B.** || *μόνον* St.

16 § **5.** l. **37.** *ἀνδρία* **O B H l.** || **39. κατά H** v; *περί* **N.** || **Μοιροκλέα** Meursius: Μυροκλέα **H** v.

CAP. XIV

§ **1.** l. **2. κατ' ml**: *μετ'* **H** v. || **5.** *ἀνδρίαν* **A B E C H l.**

§ **2.** l. **10. παρά ml**: *περί* **Hl.** || **ἐκ** addidit **N.** || **12.** *κατακεκλεισμένος* **H.** || **14. ὁμοίως** post Reiskium Graux; *ὅμοιος* **H** v. || **15. καθ' αὐτόν H** v: *κατ' αὐτόν* **l.**

§ **3.** l. **21. αὐτῶν** addidit **N.** || **23.** *ὡς οὐχ* **H.** || **24. θορυβουμένων N**: *θορυβούντων* **H** v: *θορυβούμενος* **C.** || **26.**
17 **ἂν B O H l**: *ἐὰν* v.

§ **4.** l. **29. ἀνήγαγε A D H l**: *παρήγαγε* v. || **32. παραδοθείς H l** v: *καταγνωσθείς* **ml.** || **34. ἄλλα τε B**^{c} **H l**: *ἄλλα* v. || *ῥᾳδιουργήσης* **D H.**

CAP. XV

§ **1.** l. **7.** ὁ addiderunt **ADHL.**

§ **2.** l. **11.** **λόγων** addidit **N.** || **14.** **δυεῖν ADH**: *δυοῖν* v. || *δυεῖν ἢ τριῶν καὶ τριάκοντα γεγονὼς ἐτῶν* **N**, quod cum verbis *οὔπω τῇ πολιτείᾳ κτέ.* aperte discreparet notante Blassio.

§ **3.** l. **21.** **συνωνύμων H** v: *ὁμωνύμων* Coraes post Casaubonum. || **22.** **ὁ δέ**: *οὐδὲ* **ADH.** || **περὶ ml.** || **25.** **οὐκ** om. **H.** 18
|| **29.** **προελθόντος N**: *παρελθόντος* **OBB^c H.**

CAP. XVI

§ **1.** l. **6.** **Φιλίππῳ ACH**: *Φιλίππου* v. || **8.** **ἀπάντων N** Photius: *πάντων* **H** v.

§ **2.** l. **11.** **καί** om. **H.**

CAP. XVII

§ **1.** l. **1.** **ἐπειδή N**: *ἐπεὶ* **H** v.

§ **2.** l. **10.** *Πυρινθίοις* **ADH.** || **14.** *ἐφ' ἧς* **H.** 19

§ **3.** l. **19.** *τοῖς ξένοις εἰσφέρεσθαι* **H** v.

§ **5.** l. **34.** **μεταστῆσαι H ml** v: *μεταστῆναι* **l.** || **37.** **ταῖς** 20
πόλεσιν om. **H l.**

CAP. XVIII

§ **1.** l. **2.** *εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐξαίφνης ἐνέπεσε καὶ τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατέσχε* coni. Gebhard. || **6.** **ἀλλ'** addiderunt **OBB^c HNl.** || **9.** *τὸν δῆμον ταῖς ἐλπίσι* **H** v.

§ **2.** l. **11.** *μαρσίας* **Hl.** || *Ἀμύνταν μὲν καὶ Κλέανδρον καὶ Κάσανδρον* **N.** || **13.** *Δικαίαρχον* **N.** || *Δάοχον δὲ καὶ Θεσσαλὸν καὶ Θρυδαῖον* **H**: *δάοχον δὲ καὶ Θρασυδαῖον θεσσαλοὺς* **ml**; *Ἠλεῖον* post *Θρασυδαῖον* requirebat Bryanus. || **14.** **διέφευγε HO² l**: *διέφυγε* v. || **16.** *ἔτι τῶν Φωκικῶν* **H** v.

§ **3.** l. **20.** **ὥστε καί l**; *ὥστ' εἰς* **H O²**: *ὥστε* v.

§ **4.** l. **29.** **διοικεῖσθαι δὲ καί N**: *διοικεῖσθαι δέ* **Hl**: *διοικεῖσθαι* v. || **31.** *περί* **H.** || **32.** **ἀδίκως H** v: *κακῶς* **N.** || **33.** *ὥσπερ* **H.** 21

CAP. XIX

§ **1.** l. **1.** **ἔοικε**: So Wy Coraes Sch Si Graux; *ὡς ἔοικε* **H** v. || *ἡ περιφορὰ πραγμάτων* **N.** || **4.** *ἐναντιοῦσθαι δοκεῖ τοῖς* **l.** || **6.** **προὔφερε N**: *προὔφαινε* **H** v, ex praec., ut videtur, *ἀναφαίνειν* ortum. || **10.** *θειήσασθαι* **Hlia.**

§ **2.** l. **13.** *ποταμίον* **H** v. || *ἐμβάλλον* **H** v. || **14.** **οὕτω τῶν ῥευμάτων ἴσμεν O² HNl.** || **16.** *τότε λέγεσθαι* **N.** || **καὶ γάρ ADHNl**: *καί* v. || **17.** *περί* **DCEHl.** || **20.** **ταύτην ADHl**: *ταυτῇ* v. || **διαλλάξαι** displicet Reiskio, qui *ἤδη ἀλλάξασθαι* temere requirit.

§ **3.** l. 21. *φησὶ τὸν Θερμώδοντα* **H** v. ‖ 24. **φέροντα N**
22 Coraes Sch: *φέρων* **H** v. ‖ 25. *ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ* **O**^{2} **H l.** ‖ 27. **τὴν δ' ἐπί O B**^{c} **H N l**: *τὴν ἐπί* v. ‖ 28. **ἀνθρώπεια N m l x**: *ἀνθρώποισι* **H** v.

CAP. XX

§ **1.** l. 4. **λαμπρός B E F N**: *λαμπρῶς* **H** v. ‖ 6. *χρησμός* **H.** ‖ 7. **προσέχειν N** (coni. Solanus): *προσχεῖν* **H** v.

§ **2.** l. 15. *λιπών* add. **H N l** cum quattuor Sintenianis. ‖ 18. *ἐπιγεγραμμένης* **H.** ‖ *γράμμασι χρυσοῖς* **H** v.

§ **3.** l. 22. *διαίρων* **H** v. ‖ 28. *ἀναρρίψαι* **H** v.

23 § **4.** l. 30. *διΐκτο* **H** v. ‖ 31. **ἐπὶ θάλασσαν A D H V.** ‖ 32. *καὶ χρήματα* **N**: *γράμματα* suo periculo expunxit Reiskius.

CAP. XXI

§ **1.** l. 1. **γεγενημένης A B D E N**: *γενομένης* **H** v. ‖ 6. **ἀπέλυσεν N**: *ἀπέλυεν* **H** v. ‖ 7. **προκαλούμενος A D H l**: *προσκαλούμενος* v. ‖ **ὡς εὔνουν** om. **l.**

§ **2.** l. 8. *ὀστέων* **H** v. ‖ 10. *ἀγενῶς* **l.** ‖ 13. *ἀποδεικνυμενος* (*sic*) **H.** ‖ **τοῖς συμβεβουλευμένοις N**: *τοῖς βεβουλευμένοις*=*τοῖς βουλεύμασιν* v: *τοῖς βεβουλομένοις* **H.**

CAP. XXII

24 § **1.** l. 3. **τὸ θαρρεῖν H** v: *τῷ θαρρεῖν* **C F m l x** Bu.

§ **2.** l. 12. *ὁ Αἰσχίνης* **O**^{2} **H l.** ‖ 15. **τὰ πένθη H** v: *τὸ ταπεινόν* Photius.

§ **3.** l. 19. *ἐφ'* **m l.** ‖ 21. **εἶχε** Photius **V m l x**: *εἰ δέ* **H** v. ‖ 25. *χάριν* **H l.** ‖ 26. *παιανίζειν* **m l.**

25 § **4.** l. 31. **πράγματα καὶ πάθη N** Photius: *πάθη καὶ πράγματα* **H** v. ‖ 32. *εὐτυχήμασιν, κατορθώμασιν* vel simile quid cum *δημοσίοις* reponi vult C. Graux; idem lacunam statuit post *ἐπανέχοντα*—<*καὶ τὸν τοῦτο ποιοῦντα*>*τηρεῖν κτλ.* ‖ **τό** om. **m l.**

§ **5.** l. 38. *τῷ πάσχειν* Photius. ‖ 40. **ὥσπερ οἱ H O**^{2} **B**^{c} **Q V l x**: *ὥσπερ εἰ* v.: *ὥσπερ* Photius. ‖ 42. **χρώματα** om. **l**: *κελεύοντες* **H B**^{c} **Q N V l**: *κελεύοντας* v. ‖ 43. **ἐπαγάγοιτο H O B F B**^{c} **N Q x l**: *ἀπαγάγοιτο* v: *ἐπάγοιτο* **E** et Photius. ‖ 44. **εὐτυχούσης N Q V x**: *ἀτυχούσης* **H** v. ‖ **ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν παθῶν** v, i.e. *quaecumque civitati accidunt seu bona seu mala* (Schaefer): *ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα πάθη* ci. Graux post Wyttenbachium. 45. **ἐναφανίζουσαν N** Photius.

CAP. XXIII

§ **1.** l. 5. **συμπαρασκευάσαντος H O**^{2} **N l**: *παρασκευάσαντος* v.

§ **2.** l. 9. *πόλεμον ἐπεγείρων* **N.** ‖ 11. *τὰ περὶ χώραν* **H.** ‖ 12. *ἐξεκόπτετο* **C.**

§ **3.** l. 22. **ἐξήτει ml**: *ἐζήτει* **H** v. ‖ 27. **Μοιροκλέα** Meur- 26
sius: *μυροκλέα* **H** v; *ναυσικλέα* **B**ᶜ. ‖ **Δήμωνα HOBN**: *Δάμωνα*
vulgo. Diotimum et Damonem fortasse confuderunt librarii (Krüger
ad Arrian. *Anab.* I 10, 4). ‖ **Καλλισθένην ACHNl**: *Καλλι-*
σθένη v.

§ **4.** l. 28. **τὸν...λόγον...προσῆψε τῷ δήμῳ, ἃ τοῖς λύκοις τοὺς κύνας ἐξέδωκε, καὶ διηγούμενος αὐτὸν μὲν εἴκασε...κυσὶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου μαχομένοις, τὸν δ' Ἀλέξανδρον Μακεδόνα μονόλυκον προσηγόρευσεν N**; vulgo *τὸν...λόγον ... ὡς τοῖς λύκοις τοὺς κύνας ἐξέδωκε, διηγησάμενος αὐτὸν μὲν εἴκασε...κυσὶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου μαχομένοις, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τὸν Μακεδόνα μονόλυκον προσηγόρευσεν*: **ἃ τοῖς** pro vulgato *ὡς τοῖς* coniecerat iam Solanus: tum *προσῆψε τῷ δήμῳ* legisse videtur Iacobus Amyot, qui Gallice locum reddit *compta au peuple d'Athènes la fable des brebis etc.* (Graux). ‖ 34. **ὥσπερ HNO²l**: *ὡς* v.

§ **5.** l. 41. **πρεσβεύσειν N** Rsk: *πρεσβεύειν* **H** v. ‖ 43. **μεσ-**
τόν delendum censet Hessius, quia sequatur *φόνου κεκορεσμένον*.
Atqui hoc dicitur de leone, illud de Alexandro (*Schaefer*). ‖ 45. **ὁ** 27
Δημάδης vulgo; *ὁ Φωκίων* C. Graux cum **N** cl. *Phoc.* c. 17, 1. ‖ 46.
αὐτῷ HFNVl: *αὐτῶν* v.

CAP. XXIV

§ **1.** l. **1.** *τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου* **H.** ‖ 10. de hiatu in temporum notationibus non tollendo v. F. Blass *Praef.* ad Aristot. Ἀθ. πολ. p. XVI.

§ **2.** l. 20. *ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εὐθύς* **N.**

CAP. XXV

§ **1.** l. 2. **Ἀθήνας NC**: *τὰς Ἀθήνας* **H** v. ‖ 3. **πράγματα HO²**: *τὰ πράγματα* v. ‖ 4. **ἀσωτίαν H** v: *ἀπιστίαν* **N.** ‖ 6. *αὐτόν* **H.**

§ **2.** l. 14. **βαρβαρικῇ BᶜHNO²Vl**: *βασιλικῇ* v. ‖ 15. *τήν* 28
τε τορείαν **l**: *τὴν ῥητορείαν* **HD.** ‖ 16. **ἐκέλευσε HNOE**: *ἐκέ-*
λευε v.

§ **3.** l. 21. *αὐτῶν* **DH.** ‖ 23. **ὄψει NlVx**: *ὄψιν* **H** v. ‖ 24. *ἐνευρεῖν* **N.**

§ **4.** l. 30. **καθελιξάμενος** Reiskii **CN**: *κατελιξάμενος* **H** v.

§ **5.** l. 34. **ὑπ' ἀργυράγχης Hl**: *παρ' ἀργυράγχης* **B**ᶜ: *ἀπ' ἀργυράγχης* v: praepositionem om. **N** et Photius. ‖ 37. **βουλόμενον HNQlxV**: *βουλομένου* v. ‖ 38. **ἀλλὰ χαλεπαίνοντος καὶ θορυβοῦντος** om. **Hl.**

§ **6.** l. 41. **τὸν** om. **ADHl.** ‖ 43. **ὧν** vulgo: *ἅ* **N.** ‖ 29
διηρπάκεισαν N: *διηρπάκεσαν* **H** v: *διηρπάκασιν* **E.** ‖ 47. *μόνην*
γὰρ τὴν τούτου **H** v. ‖ 48. *οὔσης ἔνδον* **N.** ‖ **Θεόπομπος**
H vulgo; *Θεόφραστος* **N.** Eadem confusio *Ages.* c. 36, 6.

CAP. XXVI

§ **1.** l. **3.** **πάγου** om. **C.** || **6.** **ἐκείνου** vulgo: *ἐκείνης* **N.**

§ **2.** l. **8.** *τε* **H.** **9.** **δεσμωτήριον** **N** v; *δικαστήριον* **H l.** || **10.** **φησὶ...οὐ δυνάμενος...ἀποδρᾶναι τοὺς μὲν λαθών** **N**: *φασὶ... οὐ δυνάμενον...ἀποδρᾶναι τοὺς μὲν λαθόντα* v; *φησὶ* de suo iam dederat Reiskius qui ita reddit:—*Demosthenes ipse ait* (in epistolis nempe) *se confugisse e custodia quod impar esset contumeliae carcerisque molestiis ferendis.* || **11.** *δυναμένου* **H** v. || **13.** *διδόντων* **H l.** || **14.** *τοῦ ἄστεος φεύγων* **H** v. || **16.** *καὶ βούλοιτο μέν* **H** v.

§ **3.** l. **18.** *προελθόντες* **l.** || **19.** *ἐφόδιον* **N**: *ἐφόδια*
30 **H** v. || **21.** **αὐτόν** **B H N O Q l V x**: *αὐτῷ* v. || **24.** **ἀπολείπων** Sch Coraes Graux: *ἀπολιπών* **H** v. || **26.** **ἐστίν** om. **C.**

§ **4.** l. **27.** *χαλεπῶς* **C.** || **31.** **ὁμολογουμένας** **N**: *ὁμολογούσας* **H** v.

§ **5.** l. **36.** **καὶ τοὺς προσιόντας...ἀποτρέπειν** **N**: *τοὺς δὲ προσιόντας...ἀπέτρεπεν* **H** v. || **38.** **δυεῖν** **H** Photius: *δυοῖν* v. || *προκειμένοιν...ὁδοῖν* **ml**: *αὐτῷ* accessit e Photio. || **39.** **ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὁδῶν** Photius: *ὁδῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* **H** v. || **40.** **ἐτύγχανε** **D H N**: *ἐτύγχανε δέ* v. || **41.** *κακὰ* [*φόβους*] *καὶ φθόνους* coni. Graux. || **42.** **ἀγωνίας** **N** et Photius: *ἀγῶνας* **H** v. || *ἐπεὶ* **H.**

CAP. XXVII

§ **1.** l. **3.** *συνίστατο* **N.** || **5.** *προτειχίζοντος* **l.**

31 § **2.** l. **13.** **προσμείξας** correxi: *προσμίξας* **H** v: *καταμίξας* **N.** || **14.** *συνεπιθήσωνται* **H.**

§ **3.** l. **19.** *φίλαρχος* **H l**: *φύλαρχος γρ. φαληρεύς* **ml.** || **21.** **τὸν μὲν** **H** v: *τότε* **N.**

§ **4.** l. **25.** *τρέψαι* **N.** || **26.** **ὑγιείᾳ** **A B D E H l N**: *ὑγείᾳ* v. || **27.** **ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ παραγίνεσθαι** **H N O**^{2}: *παραγίνεσθαι ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ* v.

§ **5.** l. **35.** **ὁμοῦ**: an *ὁμοῦ τι?* || **ἀπαντώντων** v: *ἀπάντων* **H F.** || **36.** **ὅτε καὶ** v: *οὔτε καὶ* **H.**

32 § **6.** l. **42.** **ἐσοφίσαντο** **B**^{c}**H N O**^{2}**Q l**: *ἐσοφίζοντο* 'ex vetustis codicibus' Stephanus. || **46.** **ὅσον** **B**^{c} **H N O**^{2} [exc. **F**] **Q V l**: *ὅπερ* **F ml** v. || **47.** **τὸ** om. **H.**

CAP. XXVIII

§ **1.** l. **4.** **μηνός** om. **H.**

§ **2.** l. **12.** *αὐτόν* **H.** || **15.** *ἣν ἡγεμών* **N.**

§ **3.** l. **18.** *ὑποκρίνασθαι* de suo Reiskius. || **21.** **ἐν τοῖς** om. **C**: *ἐν τοῖς μαθηταῖς* **N ml x**: occupaverunt H. Wolf Solanus Reiskius Coraes alii: *μαθητὴν* i.e. *ὡς ἕνα τῶν μαθητῶν* **H** v.

33 § **4.** l. **28.** *ἔπεμψεν ἀποσπάσας* **N.** || **31.** *ζῶντος* post *ἐκτμηθῆναι* addit **N**, sed *ἔτι ζῶντος*, ni fallor, expectes.

CAP. XXIX

§ **1.** l. **2.** **Καλαυρίᾳ N** (Xylander): Καλαβρίᾳ **H** v. ‖ **ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ Ποσειδῶνος** delet Si auctore G. E. Benseler *Met. cr.* p. 9.

§ **2.** l. **14.** **πώποτ' ἔπεισας N**; *ἔπεισας πώποτε* **H** v.

§ **3.** l. **16.** *τοῦ Ἀρχίου μετ' ὀργῆς* **H** v. ‖ **20.** *βιβλίδιον* **C.**

§ **4.** l. **24.** *περί* **D H l.** ‖ **26.** **ἀπεκάλουν H N O**^{2}**l**: *ἐκάλουν* v. ‖ **30.** *νεκροῦντος* (*torporem afferentis*) **N**: conferri jubet C. Graux *Mor.* 954 D: *ἂν δ' ἐπικρατήσῃ* (*ἡ γῆ*, i.e. *τὸ στοιχεῖον τῆς γῆς*) *παντάπασι τοῦ θερμοῦ φυγόντος ἢ σβεσθέντος, ἔστησε τὴν ἕξιν ἐκπαγεῖσαν καὶ νεκρωθεῖσαν*; Dioscoriden *de facile parabilibus medicamentis* II c. 132 (tom. II p. 324 ed. Sprengel) *νεκροῖ δὲ σκορπίον ἀκόνιτον προσαχθέν· ἐγείρει δὲ ἐλλέβορος λευκός*; Epictetum *Dissert.* I v 7 *ποῖον αὐτῷ σίδηρον προσάγω, ἵν' αἴσθηται ὅτι νενέκρωται; αἰσθόμενος οὐ προσποιεῖται.* ‖ **31.** **διαβλέψας H** v: *ἀποβλέψας* **N.** 34

§ **5.** l. **33.** **τουτί N**: *τοῦτο* **H** v. ‖ **34.** **ἐξίσταμαι N C**: *ἐξανίσταμαι* **H** v. Sic *Pomp.* c. 6, 4 ubi vulgatur *ἐξανισταμένων* optimus codex Seitenstettensis habet *ἐξισταμένων*, *Them.* c. 2, 5 *ἐξισταμένῃ* pro v. *ἐξανισταμένῃ* cum Corae legunt Fuhrius et Blassius. ‖ **35.** **τῷ δ' Ἀντιπάτρῳ H** v: *τὸ δ' ἐπ' Ἀντιπάτρῳ* **N.** ‖ **νεώς N**: *ναός* **H** v. ‖ **36.** **ταῦτα δ' εἰπών N**: *ταῦτ' εἰπών* **H** v.

CAP. XXX

§ **1.** l. **6.** *περὶ τὸν βωμόν* **H l.** ‖ **7.** **γεγραμμένην A N**: 'epistola nondum erat exarata sed adhuc exaranda: principium autem eius iam scriptum erat: recte ergo dicitur *ἀρχὴ ἐπιστολῆς γεγραμμένη*, minus epistula ipsa' (*Reiske*): *γεγραμμένης* **H** v.

§ **2.** l. **9.** **διηγήσασθαι N**: *διηγεῖσθαι* **H** v. ‖ **10.** *περὶ ταῖς θύραις* **H l.** ‖ **12.** **χρυσίον N**: *χρυσόν* **H** v. ‖ **15.** *χρόνον εἶναι* **H l.**

§ **3.** l. **17.** *φησὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν κρίκῳ κοίλῳ* **N.** ‖ **19.** **περιβραχιόνιον H** v: *περὶ τὸν βραχίονα* **N**: *περὶ τῷ βραχίονι* ex Ps.-Plut. 847 C. Graux. ‖ **21.** *ἐπεξιέναι* **N.** 35

§ **4.** l. **21.** *δημόχαρις* **H** v. ‖ **25.** *δωδεκάτῃ* corr. L. Preller.

§ **5.** l. **29.** **οὖν** om. **H.** ‖ **30.** **ἀποδιδοὺς H** v: *ἀποδούς* **N.** ‖ **32.** **ἀπὸ γένους N**: *γένους* **H O**^{2}**l.** ‖ **35.** *γνώμην ῥώμῃ* **H l.** ‖ *ἔσχες* **N.** ‖ **36.** Μακεδόνων **H.** ‖ **38.** Καλαβρίᾳ **H** v.

CAP. XXXI

§ **1.** l. **1.** *μικρῷ* **N.** ‖ **2.** **τι τοιόνδε B C B**^{c}**l**: *τὸ τοιόνδε* **N**: *τι τόνδε* **D E F H**: *τοιοῦτον* v. ‖ **5.** *χρυσίον* **l.** ‖ **ἐνέθηκε N** coni. Sch.: *ἀνέθηκε* **H** v.

36 § **2.** l. 10. *αὐτὸς οὗτος* **H**: *οὗτος* om. **1**: *οὕτως* Bartonus coni. || **11.** *λαθεῖν τὸ χρυσίον ἐποίησε* **H l.**

§ **3.** l. **16.** **τῆς φυομένης** vulgo: *μισουμένης* **N.** || **18.** *ἐκολάκευεν* **H.** || **24.** *λέγω* **A C H l.**

§ **4.** l. 30. *προαγορεύοντος* **H.** || **31.** *ἐπίστευε* **l.** || **32.** **ἀπέχεις** **H B^c Q V l**: *ἔχεις* v. || **ὦ** Σόσσιε **N**: *Σόσσιε* **H** v.

END OF CRITICAL NOTES

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GREEK

N.B. *The References are by* Chapter *and* Section

Words found in quotations are printed in small uncials

)(indicates 'as distinguished from'

The Numerals affixed to words denote respectively:—

1 words or forms of words peculiar to Plutarch and late Greek writers and not used by the best classical Authors
2 words used by Plutarch in a sense other than classical
3 poetical words
4 words found only once in Plutarch
5 Ionic words

A

ἄν for ἐάν **7** 2; οὐδ' ἄν **14** 3
ἀνάγειν, *reducere:* εἰς γνώμας ἀνῆγε rem auditam **8** 2.—*captivum ducere:* ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἀνήγαγε **14** 4
ἀναγιγνώσκειν, *legere* **9** 2; **31** 4.—PASS. **11** 4
ἀνάγνωσμα[1] **2** 1
ἀναγράφειν[2], *recensere* **28** 3
ἀναθαρρεῖν **21** 3
ἀναιρεῖν[3, 5], *de medio tollere* **23** 1; *interimere* **31** 4
ἀνακλαύσασθαι[3, 5] **26** 3
ἀνακυκλεῖν[2] (*iterare*) τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους **29** 4
ἀναλαμβάνειν πρὸς ἑαυτόν, *recolligere, secum denuo retractare* **8** 2.—*in narrando resumere, repetere* **30** 1. Cp. *Cim.* c. 2, 3, *Lyc.* c. 21, 3 τοὺς ἐμβατηρίους ῥυθμοὺς ἀναλαβών, *Mor.* 473 D οἱ τῇ μνήμῃ τὰ πρότερον μὴ στέγοντες μηδὲ ἀναλαμβάνοντες
ἀνάλωτος τῷ χρυσίῳ **14** 2
ἀναμιγνύναι **3** 2
ἀναμιμνῄσκειν **20** 1
ἄνανδρος **29** 4
ἀναξαίνεσθαι[1] (PASS.), *recrudescere* **17** 5
ἀναρριπίζειν[1] **23** 1
ἀναρρίπτειν κίνδυνον **20** 3
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ἀνδρώδης[1] ψυχή **22** 4
ἀνεπιτίμητος, *sine reprehensione* **16** 1
ἄνευ, *praeter* **17** 2. Cp. *Ti. Gr.* c. 5, 3; *Luc.* c. 7, 4 ἱππεῖς ἑξακισχιλίους ἄνευ τῶν δρεπανηφόρων τεθρίππων, *Demetr.* c. 35, 3 Κύπρον ἀνῃρηκὼς ἄνευ μιᾶς πόλεως, *Lys.* c. 11, 6 ἅπαν τὸ ναύσταθμον ἄνευ τῆς παράλου
ἀνευρίσκειν **20** 5; **25** 3; **31** 2
ἀνήρ for demonstrative pronoun **3** 4; **9** 1, 3; **13** 2; **23** 5.—for τις **25** 3
ἀνθεῖν[3] τῇ δόξῃ **5** 1. Cp. *Demetr.* c. 27, 2 τὸ δεῖπνον ἤνθησε τῇ δόξῃ διὰ τὴν πολυτέλειαν, *Arat.* c. 13, 1 ἤνθει ἔτι δόξα τῆς Σικυωνίας μούσης
ἄνθρωπος in contemptuous sense **7** 1.—for demonstrative pronoun w. art. **11** 3; **12** 2; **14** 4; **16** 1; **31** 2.—*quidam* **11** 2
ἀνιαρῶς[2] (*acerbe*) φέρειν τι **26** 3
ἀνίκητος[3] **10** 1
ἀνιστάναι εἰκόνα, *erigere statuam* **30** 5.—MED. *surgere* de sede **29** 1, 4; ad dicendum **8** 4, 5; **10** 2; **14** 3; **25** 5
ἀνταγωνίζεσθαί τῳ **2** 4; **29** 2
ἀντεξετάζειν[1] **3** 1
ἀντερῶν **10** 2; **18** 2
ἀντέχειν, *reniti* **25** 4
ἀντίδικοι, οἱ, 'the parties to a suit' **15** 1. Plat. *Phaedr.* 273 C
ἀντίθετον, τό **9** 5
ἄντικρυς εἰς, *recta ad* **26** 5
ἀντιπολιτεύεσθαι[1] **13** 2; **21** 1
ἀντιτείνειν πρός τι **14** 3
ἀντίτυπος[2], *resistens, durus* (de colore) **22** 5
ἄνω (de aevo) **13** 5
ἄνωθεν **14** 2
ἀξία: παρ' ἀξίαν, *immerito* **18** 4
ἄξιος: ἀξία τιμή **30** 5
ἀξιόπιστος **14** 2
ἀξίωμα **22** 4
ἀπαγγελία[2], *stilus et forma orationis quae cernitur in verborum cum delectu, tum compositione* (Wyttenbach *Mor.* 45 A): **2** 3

Dio Chrys. *or.* XVIII p. 256 B—D: Ἡρόδοτος τὸ ἀνειμένον καὶ τὸ γλυκὺ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας ὑπόνοιαν παρέχει, μυθῶδες μᾶλλον ἢ ἱστορικὸν τὸ σύγγραμμα εἶναι. Τῶν δὲ ἄκρων Θουκυδίδης ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ καὶ τῶν δευτέρων Θεόπομπος· καὶ γὰρ ἱστορικόν τι περὶ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν τῶν λόγων ἔχει καὶ οὐκ ἀδύνατος οὐδὲ ὀλίγος περὶ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν...Ἔφορος δὲ πολλὴν μὲν ἱστορίαν παραδίδωσι· τὸ δὲ ὕπτιον καὶ

ἀτυχία[1] 21 1
αὖθις, *iterum* 3 3; 21 1.—*contra* 13 3
αὐτάρκης ἀνήρ 1 2
αὐτός, *ipse*: αὐτοῖς for ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς 1 3; αὐτοὺς for ὑμᾶς αὐτούς 23 4.—**ὁ αὐτός** 7 2; 10 2; ταὐτά 8 4; 13 1; w. dat. 3 2
αὐτοσχεδιάζειν 10 1
ἀφαιρεῖν τί τινος 1 2
ἀφανίζειν τὰ χείρω τοῖς βελτίοσιν 22 5
ἀφιέναι, *remittere*: ἀφέντα τὴν ἔχθραν 17 2.—τὴν πρεσβείαν ἀφῆκε, *deseruit susceptam legationem* 23 3.—ἀφῆκε τὴν ψυχήν 29 5.—PASS. *dimitti*: ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀφεθέντα 14 4
ἀφίστασθαι (PASS.) 'to withdraw from,' 'have done with': ἀποστάντα τοῦ δήμου 6 4.—*desciscere, abalienari* 27 2
ἀφορμαὶ (*occasiones*) τοῦ φιλοπονεῖν 8 1
ἀφροντιστεῖν ὅπως ἕξουσιν 8 4
ἄφυκτος[3] αἰτία 31 3
ἄχρι τοῦ τέλους 13 1; ἄ. δίκης προελθόντος τοῦ ἀγῶνος 15 3
ἀψιμαχία[1] 17 5

B

βαδίζειν 29 1
βαρβαρικὴ κύλιξ 25 2
βάρβαρος γυνή 4 1
βάρος 25 3
βασανίζεσθαι (PASS.) *de nimia orationis arte adhibenda*: βεβασανίσθαι τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν, *contortus esse argumentis* 6 3
βασιλικὰ πρόσωπα 22 4
βάσις[1] ἀνδριάντος 30 5
βασκαίνειν[1] 16 2
[**βατάλεια**, *mollia et effeminata carmina* 4 4]
βάταλος obsc. i.q. πρωκτός 4 4
βεβιασμένους (PASS.) 27 5
βελτίων παρηγορία 22 5; τοῖς βελτίοσιν (ἀφανίζειν) τὰ χείρω 22 5
βῆμα, τό, κατέχειν 7 1; 23 2; ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ β. 18 1; ἀπὸ τοῦ β. ἀγωνίζεσθαι 6 2; τὸ β. καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν 26 5
βίᾳ προσέχειν)(πειθοῖ 8 4
βίος, 'life' 3 3; 13 1.—'mode of life' 10 3; 14 2.—'a biography' (unclassical): τῶν παραλλήλων β. 3 1
βιοῦν ὡς δεῖ 1 3
βλασφημεῖν, *calumniari* 4 1
βοιωτάρχης, ὁ 18 3
βολαὶ[3] ὀμμάτων 25 3
βουλή 22 1: ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου β. 14 4; 26 1
βραχύς: βραχέα, *paululum* 24 1: βραχυτάτῃ λέξει 10 2

Γ

γάλα ὄνειον 27 3, 4
γαμεῖν: ἔγημε 15 3; γεγαμηκότος 25 6
γειτνίασις[1], *vicinitas* 17 5
γελᾶν 22 4
γελοῖος 1 2; τὸ γελοῖον 11 4
γένος 28 3; οἱ ἀπὸ γένους, *posteri* 30 5
γεύεσθαι τῆς φιλοτιμίας 6 1
γίγνεσθαι, *nasci* 4 1; δυεῖν καὶ τριάκοντα γεγονὼς ἐτῶν 15 2
ΓΛΥΚΥΘΥΜΟϹ[3] 12 2
γλῶτταν ἐκτμηθῆναι 28 4; γλώττης ἀσάφεια 6 3; 11 1
γνώμη, *facultas cognoscendi, mens*: ΓΝΩΜΗΝ)(ῬΩΜΗ 30 5.—*sententia, propositum* 8 2
γράμματα, *schedae, epistula* 31 3
γράφειν 29 3; 30 3; τοὺς γράφοντας, *scriptores* 2 1.—*litteris consignare* 1 1; 9 1; τρυφερὰ καὶ παροίνια γράφοντος 4 4; ψήφισμα 17 1; 28 2.—PASS. 9 4; 11 4; 13 4; 15 3
γραφὴ (*accusatio*): γραφεῖσα—κριθεῖσα 24 1
γυμνάζειν τὴν φωνήν 11 2.—MED. *se exercere*: γυμνάζεσθαι περὶ διάλεκτον 2 2. Cp. *Mor.* 22 C περὶ ὃν (τρόπον) χρὴ τὸν νέον γεγυμνάσθαι

Δ

δακτύλους *συνέχειν* **31** 3

δέ, adversative for *ἀλλά*: *οὐχ ὑπὸ φαρμάκου θεῶν δὲ τιμῇ* **30** 4.—

δεδακρυμένος **26** 4

δ' οὖν **23** 5

δεῖγμα **23** 4

δείδω: *ὁ δείσας* **12** 2; w. dat. *δείσαντα τῷ θορύβῳ* **9** 2

δεῖν, *abesse: μικροῦ δέων καταναλωκέναι* **7** 1

δεινότης oratoris **6** 2; **8** 2; **20** 3

ΔΕΛΦῖΝΟϹ ἐΝ χέΡϹῼ ΒίΑ **3** 2

δημηγορία **12** 1

δημόσιοι, *οἱ* **5** 2; *δ. λόγοι* **15** 2

δημοτικὸς *ἀνήρ* **8** 4

διά w. Gen. *per*, 'through': *τοὺς δακτύλους συνέχων δι' ἀλλήλων* **31** 1.—*per*, 'by means of': *γράμματα δι' ὧν* **31** 3.—w. Acc. *propter: δ. ταῦτα* **4** 3; **5** 1, 4; **6** 3, 4; *δι' αἰσχύνην* **7** 3; *δι' ἀνδρείαν* **14** 1; *δ. τὴν χάραν* **20** 3; *δ. τὴν δόξαν* **24** 2; *δι' αὐτό* **13** 4; **25** 1

διαβαστάζειν[1,4], *tollere* (ad explorandum pondus) **25** 2

διαβλέπειν (*intenta acie spectare*) *πρός τινα* **29** 5

διάγραμμα[2], 'a musical scale': *ἀφ' ἑνὸς δ.* **13** 3

διάδυσεις[1] (PL.) **6** 1

διάθεσις[2], *gestus oratoris et ratio pronuntiandi* (unclassical): *τῆς προφορᾶς καὶ δ. τῶν λεγομένων* **7** 2; *ἐν ἤθει πρέποντι καὶ δ.* **7** 2, **1** 1. See Cope on Arist. *Rhet.* III 1, 3. The word is used of histrionic gesture *Mor.* p. 747 C, 748 B

animi status, affectio: ἐν ἤθει καὶ δ. **1** 1; *τὰς φύσεις καὶ τὰς δ.* **3** 1

διαιρεῖν *πρὸς πόδα* **20** 3

διαιτᾶν[2] **20** 1

διακαίειν[2] (met.) *inflammare: διακαίουσα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν* **18** 3; *διακαίοντος τοὺς 'Α.* **16** 1. Cp. *Crass.* c. 6, 5 *ταῦτα διέκαιε καὶ παρώξυνε τὸν Κράσσον*, *Thes.* c. 1, 6 *τὸν δὲ πάλαι λεληθότως διέκαιεν ἡ δόξα τῆς Ἡρακλέους ἀρετῆς*

διακούειν *τι*, *audiendo quid explorare* **31** 4

διάλεκτος[2], *ἡ Ῥωμαϊκή* **2** 2

διαλλάττειν, *mutare* **19** 2.—*reducere in gratiam: διήλλαξεν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν* **23** 5

διαλύσεις, *conditiones pacis* **29** 4

διαμιλλᾶσθαι *τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασιν εἴς τι* **31** 2

διανεύειν[1], *nutu tacite significare* **25** 4

διανοεῖσθαι, *cogitare* **29** 3

διάνοια: *τρέπειν τὴν δ.* (*τινὸς*) *πρός τι* **22** 5

διαπεπραγμένος[3], *confectus* **12** 1

διαπονεῖν[2] *αὐτόν* **5** 3; *τὴν ἕξιν* **6** 2; *τὴν φωνήν* **7** 3

διαρθροῦν[2] linguam **11** 1

διαρκὲς[2] (*vivax*) *φυτόν* **1** 3

διαρπάζειν **25** 6

διασημαίνεσθαι (MED.) **19** 2. The middle is very rare in this sense. I cannot find any passage but one where it is so used—Strabo *Geogr.* XVII 1, 6 *τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων γῇ λευκῇ διασημαινομένων τὴν τοῦ περιβόλου γραμμήν*

διασπᾶσθαι (de oratione) **6** 3

διασῴζεσθαι, *extare* **7** 3

διατριβή: *τὰς παιδικὰς δ.* **5** 3.—*commoratio* **2** 1.—*philosophorum conversatio* **28** 3

διαφέρειν **11** 4.—*δ. οὐδὲν* (*μᾶλλον*) *ἤ* followed by infin. **1** 1

διαφεύγειν, *latere* **2** 1; **18** 2

διαφορά[1], *controversia: τῶν πολεμικῶν δ.* **17** 5.—*discrepantia: τὰς δ.* **30** 3

διάφορος, *adversarius*, w. dat. *τῶν δ. αὐτῷ πολιτῶν* **26** 2. With the gen. it means 'different from'

διαφυλάττειν *τὴν μερίδα* **13** 1

διάχυσις[1], *solutus vultus* **25** 3

διεξιέναι w. acc.: *διεξελθεῖν ῥῆσιν* **7** 2; *τὰς πράξεις* **8** 1; w. rel. clause **9** 2; *διεξιόντος ὡς λάβοι* **11** 2

ἐκτός, οἱ, *extranei*)(*familiares* 8 1.—ἐκτὸς εἰ μή (unclassical) 9 5

ἐκτρέπεσθαι[2] (PASS.), *declinare*, *mutari* in rep. 13 3

ἐκφέρειν, *efferre*, 'to produce': ἐξενεγκεῖν 1 2.—*proferre*: ἐξενεγκεῖν σύγκρισιν 3 2; 15 2.—*pronuntiare*: πλεῖστον νοῦν ἐ. 10 2

ἑκὼν εἶναι 9 3

ἐλαττώματα[1] σωματικά 11 1

ἐλαύνειν, *vexare* 24 2

ἐλέγχειν 14 4.—PASS. *excuti*, *examinari* (unclassical): τὴν οἰκίαν οὐκ εἴασαν ἐλεγχθῆναι 25 6

ἐλλείπειν τι τοῦ φρονεῖν ὡς δεῖ 1 3

Ἑλληνικός: τὰ Ἑ. 27 1; ταῖς Ἑ. ταραχαῖς 20 4

ἐλλύχνιον[5], 'a lamp-wick' 8 3. The Attic word is θρυαλλίς

ἐμβάλλειν, *inicere* 3 2; 25 2.—*infundi* (de fluvio) 19 2

ἐμμελής, *concinnus*, hinc *temperatus*, *idoneus*: ἐ. μαθήματα 4 3

ἔμμετρος ὅρκος 9 4

ἐμπειρίαν ἔχειν τινός 2 3

ἐμπίμπλασθαι (PASS.) w. gen. 19 2

ἐμπίπτειν, *irrumpere* (de hoste) 18 1.—*incidere*: εἰς αἰτίαν ἐμπεσόντα 31 3

ἐμφύεσθαι[2] (de veneno) 29 4

ἐν: ἐν ἡμῖν λανθάνετε αὑτοὺς συνεκδιδόντες 23 4; ἐν ἀτυχήμασι διδάσκεσθαι 31 4.—*penes*: ἧς (εὐδαιμονίας) ἐν ἤθει τὸ πλεῖστόν ἐστιν 1 1.—of Time: 'during' ἐν τῷ βίῳ 13 1; ἐν οἷς ηὐτύχησε 22 3; ἐν τῷ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ γράφειν 29 3

ἐναγώνιον[1] δύναμιν 17 4

ἐναντίος: ἐξ ἐναντίας 11 2; αὐτῷ τἀναντία 13 2

ἐναργῶς[3], *aperte* 15 3

ἐνθουσιᾶν 9 4; ἐ. πρός τι 18 3

ἐνθύμημα 6 3; 8 3

ἔνιοί τινες 4 4

ἔνιοι 4 4, 5; 15 2; w. gen. 4 5

ἔντευξις 8 1

ἔντονος πρὸς τὰς ἀμύνας 12 2

ἐντός w. gen. 29 3

ἐντυγχάνειν, *adire*, *compellare* 6 3.—*legere* 2 2; 5 5

ἐξαιτεῖν, *deposcere* in poenam 23 3

ἔξαρνος ἦν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους 8 4

ἐξαρπάζεσθαι[3] (PASS.) *eripi*, *liberari*: τῆς Μακεδόνων ὠμότητος ἐξαρπαγῆναι 30 4

ἐξαρτύεσθαι (MED.) τὸ σῶμα 6 4

ἐξετάζειν, *explorare*, 'to inquire into,' 'sift'; ἐξετάσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα 26 1.—PASS. *recenseri*: ἐξεταζομένων τῶν χρημάτων 25 2

ἑξῆς, *continuo* 7 3

ἕξις, *habitus* corporis 6 2

ἐξίστασθαι w. gen., *excedere* 29 5

ἐξοιωνίζεσθαι[1], *abominari* 21 3

ἐξυβρίζειν (*insolescere*) ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ 20 3

ἔξω λόγου τίθεσθαι, *ex numero eximere*, 'to put out of account' 14 2

ἐοικέναι, *videri* 3 2; 6 3; 15 3.—ὡς ἔοικε, *ut fertur* 6 3

ἐπαγγέλλεσθαί τι 29 2, 4

ἐπάγειν ἄσκησίν τινι 11 1.—MED. ἐπάγεσθαι παρηγορίαν 22 5

ἐπαίρεσθαι 18 1; ἐπηρμένης πρὸς τὸ μέλλον 17 4

ἐπακολουθεῖν, *sequi* 7 1.—*mente assequi*, *intellegere* 2 3

ἐπανελθών 31 2

ἐπανέχειν τί τινι 22 4

ἐπανόρθωσις[2], *augmentum rei familiaris* 6 2. Cp. *Eum.* c. 13, 1 πεντήκοντα τάλαντα λαβεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἐπανόρθωσιν, *Cleom.* c. 16, 3 ἀναίρεσιν πλούτου καὶ πενίας ἐπανόρθωσιν, Polyb. 1, 66, 12; 5, 88, 3; 27, 6, 12; 30, 11 (17), 2 κεχρημένον τοῖς κατὰ τῆς βασιλείας καιροῖς πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπανόρθωσιν i.e. *quaestum*, Dion. Chrys. *orat.* 40, 1

p. 159 R. 11 *τῶν περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν φαυλῶς διακειμένων ἃ τοσοῦτον ἀπολωλότα χρόνον οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπανορθώσεως τετύχηκεν*, *or.* 45 p. 204 R. 11 *τὰ τῆς οὐσίας ἐπανορθώσας.*—*correctio: ἐπανορθώσεις ἐκαινοτόμει* **8** 2

ἐπάνω[2], 'uppermost in point of time,' 'preceding' **24** 1

ἐπαχθής *τινι* **31** 3

ἐπεγείρειν[1] 3 5; *τὸν πόλεμον* **23** 2

ἐπεί γε, *quamquam* **9** 4; **14** 2

ἐπεμβαίνειν w. dat. **21** 1

ἐπί, A. w. Gen. 'in the time of' **24** 1, 2; *ἐπὶ καιροῦ* **8** 3

B. w. Dat. *prope*, 'at,' 'near' **19** 2.—To denote (*a*) the circumstances in which **4** 1; *ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ* **16** 1; **17** 5; *ἐπὶ θανάτῳ βασιλέως στεφανηφορεῖν* **22** 3.—(*b*) the suggesting ground, motive or occasion with verb of emotion etc.: **1** 1; **4** 1; *ἐφ' οἷς ἡσθεὶς* **27** 4; *ἐφ' οἷς παροξυνθεὶς* **31** 4; *ἐφ' οἷς ἠδόξησε* **15** 1; *ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ ἐξυβρίσας* **20** 3; *λοιδορῶν ἐ. τούτῳ* **22** 2.—(*c*) the end or purpose: *ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ μεταβαλέσθαι* **13** 1; *ἐφ' ὑγιείᾳ* **27** 4.—(*d*) the condition on which: *ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ* **12** 2.—(*e*) 'in addition to': **19** 3; *δύο ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα* **12** 1; *ἕκτῃ ἐ. δέκα* **30** 4.—(*f*) 'in honour of': *τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔπαινον εἰπεῖν* **21** 2.—(*g*) 'in the power of,' 'at the mercy of': *ἐπὶ τῇ τύχῃ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν* **9** 3

C. w. Acc. 1. Local: *ἔπεμψε—ἐ. θάλασσαν* **20** 4; *κωμάσας ἐ. τοὺς νεκρούς* **20** 3.—*contra:* **6** 1; **16** 1; **17** 2; **21** 1

2. Temporal, denoting extent of time: *ἐ. πολὺν χρόνον* **28** 9

3. Causal, of the Object for which one goes: *ἐπέμφθη ἐπ' αὐτόν* ('to fetch him') **27** 5; *ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο* **26** 3; *προβάλλεσθαί τινα ἐπὶ κατηγορίαν* **14** 3; *θαρρεῖν ἐ. τὰ μέλλοντα* **22** 1

ἐπιβατὸς *χρυσίῳ* **14** 2

ἐπιβιοῦν: *ἐπιβιώσας* (unclassical form) *τῇ εὐτυχίᾳ* **21** 3

ἐπίγραμμα **30** 5; **31** 2

ἐπιγράφειν *τινὰ* (*inscribere alicuius nomen*) *ψηφίσματι* **21** 3.—PASS. *ἐπεγράφη* **30** 5; inscriptionem *ἐπιγεγραμμένην χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν* (*τῇ ἀσπίδι*) **20** 2

ἐπιγραφή **20** 2

ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, *declarare* **21** 2

ἐπιέναι, *obire* **26** 1

ἐπικαλεῖσθαι (PASS.) **4** 1; **11** 5

ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι (MED.) **18** 3

ἐπικλᾶν **22** 5

ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι, *nancisci, adipisci* w. gen. **1** 3

ἐπιμένειν w. dat. **13** 1

ἐπισκιρτᾶν *νεκρῷ* **22** 3

ἐπισκοτεῖν *τινί* **18** 3

ἐπισκώπτειν **8** 3; **16** 2

ἐπιστρέφειν, 'to convert from an error,' 'bring round' **9** 2

ἐπίσχες (*ἐπέχειν*) **29** 3

ἐπιταράττειν[2,5], *interpellare* **6** 3

ἐπιτείνειν *τὴν φωνήν* **11** 3

ἐπιτήδειος, *familiaris* **7** 1

ἐπιτίθεσθαι (MED.), *admovere manum* operi, *suscipere: ἐ. τοῖς ἀγῶσι* **6** 2.—*aggredi* hostem: *ἐπέθεντο τῇ φρουρᾷ* **23** 1

ἐπιφανεστέραν *πίστιν* **2** 1

ἐπιφύεσθαι[1] (*adoriri, insectari*) *τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν* **14** 3

ἐπιχωρεῖν (*concedere*) *τι πρός τι* **2** 3

ἔπος, *versus* **21** 3

ἐποφθαλμιᾶν[1] *πρός τι* **25** 1

ἐργασία, *quaestus* **1** 3

ἐργαστήριον, *officina* **4** 1

ἐρευνᾶν *τὰς οἰκίας* **25** 6

ἐρίοις *καθελιξάμενος* **25** 4

ἐρωτᾶσθαι (PASS.) **10** 1; **11** 4

ἐρωτικὸς *πρὸς χρυσίον* **25** 3

εὐαγγέλια *θύειν* **22** 1

εὐγένεια[3] (*integritas*) *τῶν δικαζόντων* **21** 2; *τῶν λόγων* **13** 5

λήμη, *gramiae* 1 2

λογισμός, *ratiocinatio:* λογισμὸν ἐκβαλεῖν 18 3; οὐ διέφευγε τοὺς λ. 18 2; ἐχρῶντο τοῖς λ. 20 1

λογογραφεῖν[1] ἐπί τινα 6 1

λόγος, *oratio* 5 1; 9 1; 15 1 etc.—*sermo:* λόγοις κουφίζουσι 22 5.—*fama:* λ. ἔχει 28 3; ὁ πολὺς λ. κρατεῖ 15 1; λ. διεδόθη 31 2.—*eloquentia* 3 2; 4 5; 5 4; 6 4; 10 3; 12 2.—*fabula* 23 4.—*ratio:* ἔξω λόγου τίθεμαι 14 3; πλεῖστον αὐτοῦ λόγον εἶναι 12 3; 16 1; μὴ λόγον ἀπαιτῶνται 25 6

λοιδορεῖν τινὰ ἐπί τινι 22 2.—PASS. 4 3

λῦσαι χάριτι καταδίκην 27 6

M

μαθήματα ἐμμελῆ 4 3; 5 3

μακαρίζειν: μακαρίσαι αὐτὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης 27 5.—PASS. 5 3

μακεδονίζειν 14 1; 24 2

ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝ ἌΡΗΣ 30 5

μακρὰν τοῦ ἄστεος 26 2

μαλακία)(καρτερία 6 4

μαλακός, *mollis:* τὰ μ. χρώματα 22 5.—fig. *effeminatus*, 'unmanly,' 'craven' 11 3; 22 2; 29 4

μαλακῶς φέρειν τι 26 4

μαραίνεσθαι τρυφῇ 6 4

μαχαιροπώλιον 15 1

μεθιστάναι[2], *ad defectionem compellere* 17 5

μειδιᾶν[3] 25 3

μελετᾶν λέγειν 8 4

μελέτη πρός τι 2 3; αὐτὸν διεπόνει ταῖς μ. 5 3; ἐγγυμνασάμενος ταῖς μ. 6 1; τὰς μ. περαίνειν 11 2

μελετητήριον[1] 7 3; 8 11

μέλλειν, *in eo esse ut:* 5 1; 29 3; 30 5; τὸ μέλλον 17 4; 18 3; τὰ μ. 22 1.—*velle:* τῷ εὐδαιμονήσειν μέλλοντι 1 1.—*debere:* πῶς δ' οὐ μέλλω φέρειν; 26 3

μέν in parataxis 1 2; 8 5; 9 3; 14 2; 22 3.—μέν—ἀλλά 2 3.—μέν—μέντοι 1 1; 2 1; 22 4.—μὲν οὖν 23 4; 24 2; 25 6; 27 2

μερίς, *factio* in republ. 13 1. Cp. Dion. Hal. *A. R.* VIII 30 ἐξὸν ἑλέσθαι τὴν κρείττω μερίδα τὴν χείρονα εἵλον, Eur. *Suppl.* 238

μέρος 20 3; 24 2; ἐν μέρει 21 3

μέσος: ἐν μ. 18 1; εἰς μέσον, *in publicum* 6 1

μετά, A. w. Gen. 1. *una cum:* 13 5; 23 1, 2, 3; 25 1, 3; 27 2; 29 1.—2. To indicate mode and manner, where elsewhere a formal adverb or simpler case is used (unclassical); μετ' ὀργῆς 29 3; μ. τιμῆς 3 3; μεθ' ἱστορίας καὶ ἀποδείξεως 9 2; μ. παρρησίας 14 3; μ. πλείστης ἐπιμελείας 16 1.

B. w. Acc. *post:* μετ' οὐ πολύ 22 1; 25 1; μεθ' ἡμέραν, *postridie* 25 4

μεταβαλέσθαι τὴν μερίδα, *alias partes sequi* 13 1

μεταβολή (*transitus ad alias partes*) ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ 13 1

μεταλαμβάνειν w. acc. 24 2.—*suscipere loquendi vices*, Fr. 'prendre la parole' (an unclassical usage) 7 2

μεταμέλεσθαι w. dat. (a rare construction) 21 2

μετατίθεσθαι (MED.), *sententiam mutare* 13 2. Cp. *Mor.* 58 C παραχωροῦντας ὡς κρείττοσι καὶ μετατιθεμένους ῥᾷστα πρὸς τοὐναντίον, 112 C εἰ δὲ μεταθήσῃ ποτε, τί οὐκ ἤδη μετατίθεσαι;

μεταφορά (*translatio*) ὀνομάτων 2 3

μετάφρασις[1] 8 2

μετέχειν τῆς διατριβῆς τινός 28 3

μετεωρίζειν[3] ταῖς ἐλπίσι 18 1

μέχρι τούτων, *hactenus* 20 2; μ. τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως 20 4

μή with participles other than concessive, where οὐ is the normal particle in classical Greek; 5 4; 12 1; 13 1; 18 1.—with predicative participles, where οὐ is required in Attic prose, after

φαίνεσθαι **13** 1, but *οὐ* is used after *ὁρᾶν* **13** 4

Stegmann p. 18 gives as many as 341 instances from the *Lives* alone where *μή* is used, as against 629 where *οὐ* is found; with a causal partic. 141 times against 250 instances of *οὐ*; with a temporal partic. 62 of *μή* against 91 of *οὐ*; with a modal partic. 52 of *μή* against 124 of *οὐ*; with a purely attributive partic. 31 of *μή* against 88 of *οὐ*; with a concessive partic. 43 of *μή* against 72 of *οὐ*. In some of the above instances *μή* may *possibly* have been used to avoid hiatus, but this explanation will not apply to more than 107: nor can it be said that *μή* is used for the sake of extra emphasis, because in exactly the same phrases, such as *μήπω γενειῶν, μηδὲν δεόμενος, μηδὲν ἀποκρινάμενος*, we find sometimes *οὐ*, sometimes *μή*, and even in opposed clauses they are occasionally used indifferently

μή after a verb of saying, thinking etc. in indirect discourse where *οὐ* is the normal construction in Attic (G. *MT.* § 685); after *λέγειν* c. 13, 1, 2 (but *οὐ* in c. 20, 1 where there is a statement in opposition); after *φάναι* c. 30, 1 (but *οὐ* c. 30, 4, as after *οἴεσθαι* c. 1, 2); after *ἐοικέναι*, c. 9, 3

Stegmann p. 15 has given statistics shewing that *μή* is used 314 and *οὐ* 418 times after such verbs in the whole of Plutarch

μή 'lest,' after verbs expressing fear, anxiety, caution, mostly with aor. subj.: *φυλάττεσθαι μὴ ἐμβάλωσιν* **25** 2; *δεδιότες μὴ ἀπαιτῶνται* **25** 6

μηδέ, *ne—quidem* **7** 3.—for *οὐδέ* with participle **18** 1

μηδείς for *οὐδείς* **18** 1; after a verb of saying **30** 1.—*μικρὸν καὶ τὸ μηδέν* **7** 2

μηδέποτε for *οὐδέποτε* with infinitive in indirect statement **13** 2. See under *μή*.

μηδέπω for *οὐδέπω* **12** 1

μήν: *οὐ μήν* **15** 3; **28** 1.—*οὐ μήν—γε* **16** 2; *οὐ μὴν ἀλλά*, *verum tamen* **8** 1; **18** 1

μήν, *mensis* **7** 3

μητε for *οὔτε* **13** 1

μικρότης **1** 3

μικροῦ *δέω* **7** 1; *μικρὸν ἐπάνω* **24** 1; *μικρὸν πρόσθεν* **31** 1; *μικρὸν ἐπίσχες* **29** 3; *μικρὸν ἀπολείπειν* **4** 2

μισοτεκνία[1] **22** 2

μνᾶσθαι **15** 2

μοιχεύειν (de muliere) **11** 5

μονόλυκος[1,4] **23** 4

μόριον *τοῦ σώματος* **4** 4

N

νᾶμα[3], *flumen*: ΜᾺ ΝΆΜΑΤΑ **9** 4

νεανιεύεσθαι w. infin. **3** 2

νεανίευμα **26** 4

νεανικός[2], *vehemens*, *strenuus*: *ζήτησιν ν.* **25** 6

νεαρὸν[3] *τραῦμα* **18** 2

νεμεσητόν[3] **22** 3

νεῦμα **10** 3

νηστεύειν **30** 4

νόμοι (*modi musici*) *πονηροὶ καὶ ἀργάλεοι* **4** 5

νοσεῖν (de civitate) **27** 3

νοσφίζεσθαι[2,3], *intervertere* **4** 2

νοσώδης, 'sickly' **4** 3

νοῦς, *mens*: *ἐν νῷ λαβών* **20** 3; *νοῦν ἔχοντα* **1** 2; *πλεῖστον νοῦν ἐκφέρειν* **10** 2.—*sententia*, 'meaning': *τὸν ν. τῶν λεγομένων* **6** 3

νυκτογραφίαι[1], *lucubrationes* **11** 5

Ξ

ξένα *ἀναγνώσματα*)(*οἰκεῖα* **2** 1; *τοῖς ξένοις* (*mercennariis*) **17** 3

ξυροῦσθαι (MED.) **7** 3

O

ὀδύρεσθαι[3] *πρός τινα* **7** 1

ὀδυρμός[3] **22** 2, 4

ὄζειν c. gen. **8** 3

ὅθεν, *unde*, *quibus de causis* **1** 3; **5** 3; **13** 1; **16** 2

contra: παρ' ἀξίαν 18 4.—*ad*, 'in comparison with': παρ' οὐδὲν θέμενος (*nihili habens*) 14 4.—'except' 15 3

2. Temporal: ταῖς παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἀπαντήσεσι 11 4

παράβακχος[1,4] 9 4

παραβάλλειν, *accedere* 31 1

παραγίγνεσθαι εἰς πόλιν 27 3

παραδέχεσθαι φρουράν 25 4

παραδιδόναι αὐτόν 25 1.—PASS. παραδοθεὶς τοῖς ἕνδεκα 14 4; εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον 26 2

παραιτεῖσθαι 23 5

παρακαλεῖν w. inf. 26 3; 29 4; 31 3

ΠΑΡΑΛΑΒΩΝ 9 5

παραλλάττειν, 'to pass by' 29 5

παράλληλοι[1] βίοι 3 1

παραμένειν, *durare*: τῶν τραυμάτων ἔτι νεαρῶν παραμενόντων 18 2

παρανίστασθαι[1,4] 9 2

παραρρεῖν[5] 19 2

παρασκευάζεσθαι (MED.) *accingere se*: παρασκευασάμενος εἰπεῖν 12 1; πεφροντικὼς καὶ παρεσκευασμένος 8 3; seq. ὡς cum fut. partic. παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς πολεμήσοντες 23 1

παρασκευή, 'preparation': τὰς π. 10 1.—'a means of procuring': θεραπείας δήμου π. 8 4.—*apparatus scenicus* 29 2

παρασκώπτειν, *obiter cavillari* 9 5

παρατυγχάνειν, *interesse* c. dat. rei 5 2; 8 2

παραφέρειν[1,4], *superare* 10 1

παραφύεσθαι[5] 31 1

παρέχειν, *praebere* (sumptus) 27 6.—with reflexive pronoun and predicate adj. ὅμοιον αὐτὸν παρεῖχεν 16 2. Cp. Plat. *Euthyph.* 3 D σὺ μὲν δοκεῖς σπάνιον σεαυτὸν παρέχειν, Xen. *Cyr.* II i 11 ἄρχοντός ἐστιν ἑαυτὸν ἀγαθὸν παρέχειν, V i 12 παρέχουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ὑπηρετοῦντας

παρηγορία[1] βελτίων 22 5

παριέναι (εἶμι), *accedere* 28 1.—*prodire* 6 1; 8 3; 18 1.—*vincere* 14 2

παρίστασθαι (MED.) *in mentem venire*: παρέστη Θεοπόμπῳ λέγειν 13 1; ἐκ τοῦ παρισταμένου, *subito, non cogitate* 9 3

παροίνια[1] (*sc.* ᾄσματα) 4 4

παροξύνειν 17 3.—PASS. 31 4

παροράσθαι, 'to be overlooked,' 'disregarded' 7 1. Cp. *Philop.* c. 13, 4 παρορώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, Dem. *Aristocr.* § 105 ἡγήσονται παρεωρᾶσθαι

παρωνύμιον[2], 'a surname' 4 5

πάσχειν τι πρός τι 10 3

πένθος: τὰ π. 22 3

περαίνειν τὰς μελέτας 11 2

περί 'at,' 'near': π. Ῥόδον καὶ Ἰωνίαν 24 2; ἡ π. Κρανῶνα μάχη 28 1; τῆς π. τὴν Ἄμφισσαν εὐτυχίας 18 1; 21 3.—οἱ περί τινα (1) the individual and his companions as οἱ π. Δημοσθένην 28 2; (2) the individual alone, as τοὺς περὶ Αἰσχίνην καὶ Φιλοκράτην = 'Aeschines and Philocrates' 16 2; 30 2.—with acc. as a periphrasis for the genitive: τῆς π. τοὺς ἀγῶνας φιλοτιμίας 6 1; τῆς π. τὸν θάνατον ὀξύτητος 30 2; 13 5

περίβλεπτος ἤρθη 12 3

περιβραχιόνιον[1] φόρημα 30 3

περισπᾶν, *distinere* 20 4

περιττός, *nimius, curiosus* 3 2

περιφορὰ πραγμάτων 19 1

πικρία 12 3

πικρὸς[2] τρόπος 4 5; τὸ π., *acrimonia* orationis 11 4

πίστιν λαμβάνειν 2 1; ἔχειν 10 3

πλαγιάζειν φώνην 13 3

πλάσμα, τό, *modulatio vocis* 9 3; *gestus* 11 3

πλάττειν, *fingere*, 'to mould,' 'fashion' 3 3.—τὴν ὑπόκρισιν 7 3; πλάσαι τὴν ῥῆσιν 7 2

πληγὰς λαβεῖν ὑπό του 11 2

πλήν 1. as Prep. w. gen. 25

6.—2. as Adv. *ceterum* (unclassical) **10** 1; *πλὴν ὅτι* **30** 4

πληγεὶς[1] *ὑπὸ τῆς δωροδοκίας* **25** 4

πλησιάζει discipulus magistro *διὰ φιλοσοφίαν* **2** 2

πλούτῳ *καὶ φίλοις εὖ πεφραγμένος* **12** 2

πνεύματος *κολοβότης* **6** 3; *ἅμα τῷ πν. πυκνουμένῳ* **11** 2; *aura* **31** 2

πόθεν; *qua de causa?* **9** 1

ποιεῖν, **A.** 1. *facere*, 'to compose': *τοῦτο (τὸ ἐπίγραμμα) ποιῆσαι* **30** 5; *δραμάτιον εἰς τοῦτο πεποίηκε* **4** 4.—2. 'to cause' w. inf.: *λαθεῖν ἐποίησε* **31** 2.—MED. 1. w. obj. and pred. acc.: *ζῶντα ποιεῖσθαι πολίτην* (*civitate donare*) **22** 3; **8** 1.—2. 'to put in a certain condition': *ἐπὶ τῇ τύχῃ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν* **9** 3.—3. 'to reckon,' 'consider' **8** 5; **13** 4; **22** 2. Any verb may be resolved into its cognate substantive and *ποιεῖσθαι*, as *ζήτησιν ἐποιοῦντο* = *ἐζήτουν* **25** 6. **B.** *agere*, 'to do': *π. τὸ προσταττόμενον* **18** 4.—used vicariously: *ταῦτα ποιῆσαι* **27** 6; **30** 5

πολεμιστήριος[1] (*bellicus*) *ἀνδρεία* **13** 5

πολιτεία, *reip. administratio* **3** 2; **11** 6; **12** 1, 3; **13** 3; **14** 1; **15** 1; **16** 1; **26** 4, 5: *προϊστάμενος π. οὐκ ἐπαινουμένης* **14** 1.—PL. **3** 1

πολιτεύεσθαι (MED.) **10** 2

πολίτευμα **14** 4

πολιτικός: *π. ψυχῆς* **22** 4; *χρειῶν π.* **2** 2; *π. ἀγῶνες* **6** 2; *π. δυνάμεις* **17** 3

πολλαχοῦ[5], *saepius* **9** 4; **13** 4

πολλοστὸν *μέρος* **6** 1

πολὺ *μᾶλλον* **22** 4

πολυάνθρωπος *πόλις* **2** 1

πολύς, *multus:* 1. of Number: *ἄλλοι πολλοί* **8** 3; *ἄλλα πολλά* **14** 4; *πολλὰ εἰρήκει κακῶς* **9** 1; **10** 3.—2. of Degree, Intensity: *τὸ αὐστηρὸν πολὺ ἔχουσι* **11** 4; *ῥέοντι πολλῷ* **9** 1.—3. of Time: *πολὺν χρόνον* **13** 1; **28** 1; **30** 2; **31** 3; *μετ' οὐ πολύ* **22** 1; **25** 1.—*ὁ πολὺς λόγος* **1** 1; *οἱ πολλοί, vulgus*)(*οἱ χαρίεντες* **11** 3; **8** 4; **14** 3; *τὰ πολλά, plerumque* **26** 4; *τοὺς πολλοὺς πυρούς* **23** 4.—w. partit. gen. *πολλὰς τῶν ὁμοιοτήτων* **3** 2; *πολλὰ τῶν τυχηρῶν* **3** 2; *πολλοὶ τῶν εὐφυῶν* **31** 2; *πολλὰ τῶν φύλλων* **31** 2

πονηροὶ *νόμοι* **4** 5; *πράγματα π.* **25** 1

πορίζεσθαι (MED.) **22** 5

πόρρω *τῆς ἡλικίας* **2** 2

πόσον *ἄγει* **25** 3

ποταμὸς *μικρός* **19** 2; ΜΑ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΥΣ **9** 4

ποτέ, *aliquando* **9** 4; *ὀψέ ποτε* **2** 2.—*unquam* after neg. *οὐ* **1** 2

πρᾶγμα: *περιφορὰ πραγμάτων* **19** 1; *τῶν ἔγγιστα π.* **12** 1; *τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν π.* **28** 1; *τοῖς π.*)(*τοῖς τρόποις* **3** 3; *μήτε π. μήτ' ἀνθρώποις* **13** 1; *τὰ π. ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων συνιέναι* **2** 3; *π. συνειδὼς πονηρά* **25** 1.—'public affairs': *τῶν π. μερίδα* **13** 1, 3

πράττειν *ταπεινά* **24** 1

πρεσβέων (*πρεσβευτής*) **27** 2

προάγεσθαι (PASS.) w. infin. *εἰπεῖν προήχθημεν* **22** 5

προβάλλεσθαι **14** 3

προιέναι (*πρόειμι*), *prodire* **29** 5; *προῆλθεν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν* **22** 1; *εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν* **25** 4; *προελθεῖν* in publicum **7** 3. Cp. *εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν προελθεῖν* *Nic.* c. 13, 5, *Lyc.* c. 5, 4; *Rom.* c. 28, 1; *Brut.* c. 1, 3; *Cleom.* c. 10, 4; *Cat. mi.* c. 3, 5; *προελθεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμον* *Marc.* c. 24, 6; *Caes.* c. 1, 17.—*progredi:* *ἀγῶνος ἄχρι δίκης προελθόντος* **15** 3

προίεσθαι (*προΐημι*), *proicere:* *οὐ προϊεμένης αὐτὸν τοῖς πόνοις* **4** 3; *προήκαντο τὴν ψῆφον* **24** 2; *τὸν βίον προέμενος* **13** 1

προίστασθαι (PASS.), *praeesse:* προιστάμενος πολιτείας, *tuens certam π. formam in rep.*, hodie 'système' (*Wyttenbach*) **14** 1

προκαλεῖσθαι (*invitare*) εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν **21** 1.—*lacessere:* π. τοὺς πολεμίους **20** 1

προκαταλαμβάνειν τι **22** 1

πρόκεισθαι, *in medio positum esse:* δυεῖν προκειμένων ὁδῶν **26** 5

προπέμπεσθαι, *deduci* **5** 3

πρός w. Dat. 'in addition to' **22** 3.—w. Acc. **A.** 'to,' 'towards' **13** 4; **22** 5; **25** 1.—'in front of': πρὸς τοῦτο (τὸ κάτοπτρον) ἱστάμενον **11** 2.—**B.** in personal Relation, friendly or hostile; 1. **3** 1; **7** 1; **9** 2, 3; **12** 4; π. τὸν κλέπτην εἶπεν **11** 5; λέγειν π. τὸν δῆμον **13** 2; ὀδυρομένου π. αὐτόν **7** 1; ἀναλαμβάνων π. ἑαυτόν **8** 2; πάσχειν τι π. τι **10** 3; ἐρωτικοῦ π. χρυσίον **25** 3.—2. *contra:* τὸ π. κινδύνους ἄτολμον **3** 2; **12** 3; **14** 2, 3; **15** 1; **16** 1; **17** 5; τὰς πράξεις π. ἀλλήλας ἐπισκεψώμεθα **3** 1.—3. 'in reference to,' 'for' a purpose: **1** 3; **2** 3; **5** 4; **6** 1, 2; **12** 3; **18** 3; μέγα π. πίστιν **11** 3.—4. 'suitable to,' **9** 3.—5. Causal, *propter:* **9** 1; **18** 3; **25** 1

προσάγεσθαι, *conciliare sibi, ad suas partes perducere* **16** 2; w. dat. Θηβαίους προσαγαγέσθαι τῇ ξυμμαχίᾳ **17** 4

προσαγορεύειν, *nuncupare:* μονόλυκον προσηγόρευσε **23** 4

προσάπτειν τινί τι **23** 4

προσβιάζεσθαι **4** 3

προσγίγνεσθαί τινι **27** 2

προσδοκᾶν τι ἀπό τινος **22** 1; w. fut. inf. **23** 5

προσέχειν[2] w. dat. 'to mind': **8** 4; **20** 1, 4; **27** 2

προσηγορία, *nomen* **19** 2

προσήκοντα ἐλευθέρῳ παιδὶ μαθήματα **4** 3

προσηκόντως **18** 4

πρόσθεν ἤ w. inf. **31** 1

προσιέναι (πρόσειμι), *appropinquare* **26** 3, 5; **28** 2.—w. dat. προσελθόντος αὐτῷ **11** 2; τῇ πολιτείᾳ **15** 1

προσίεσθαι δόξαν **9** 3

προσκρούειν: τὸ προσκροῦσαι τῷ δήμῳ **14** 4; προσκρούσαντας βασιλεῦσι **3** 3

προσμείξας[3] (προσμιγνύναι) ἑαυτὸν τοῖς πρεσβεύουσι **27** 2

πρόσταγμα θεῖον **3** 2

προστάττειν with indef. object **31** 4.—PASS. τὸ προσταττόμενον **18** 4

προστίθεσθαι (MED.), *se adiungere:* Κασσάνδρῳ προστιθέμενος **13** 3.—*sibi admovere:* προσθοῖτο τῷ στόματι τὸ φάρμακον **30** 2

πρόσφατος (de re) **17** 5

προσφέρειν τῷ στόματί τι **29** 3. MED. *sumere:* τὸ φάρμακον **30** 5

προσχωρεῖν, *accedere alicuius partibus*, 'to go over to': προσκεχωρήκει τῷ Ἁρπάλῳ **25** 4

πρόσωπον[2], *persona:* τῶν τυραννικῶν π. **22** 4

[**προφαίνειν**[3], *portendere* ostentum oraculum aut aliud divinum signum, verbum in Plutarcho usitatum **19** 1, *v.l.* pro προὔφερε]

πρόφασις, 'pretext': δειλίας προφάσεις **20** 1.—'cause': ἐξ ἀδίκου π. **25** 2

προφέρειν: δεινὰ προὔφερε (προὔφαινε *v.l.*) μαντεύματα **19** 1.—MED. *pronuntiare* (unclassical): λόγους προφερόμενον **11** 2

προφορά[1], 'enunciation' **7** 2

πρόχειρος, *promptus, paratus:* ἐκ προχείρου **8** 5; ἔχειν τι πρόχειρον **3** 2; οὐ π. ἀναγνωσμάτων **2** 1

πρώην, *non ita dudum* **11** 5

πρωτεύειν w. gen. **6** 2

πταίειν, *male rem gerere* **22** 3

πτήσσειν[3]: ἔπτηξε **24** 1

πυκνοῦσθαι (PASS.): ἅμα τῷ πνεύματι πυκνουμένῳ **11** 2

συνήθεια, *consuetudo:* ἔχων πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνήθειαν **5** 2. Cp. Polyb. 1, 43, 4 διὰ τὴν προγεγενημένην ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνήθειαν, 31, 22, 3 τῆς πρὸς τὸν Πολύβιον αὐτῷ συνηθείας, Isocr. *Demon.* 1 ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνηθείαις.—2. *usus*, 'habituation': συνήθειαν λαβών **6** 1. Cp. *Mor.* 791 A ἐμπειρίαν καὶ συνήθειαν ἐκτῶντο πρὸς τὰ κοινά

συνήθης (substantive), *familiaris:* τοὺς σ. **10** 2

συνιέναι (συνίημι) τὰ πράγματα ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων **2** 3

συνιέναι[2] (σύνειμι), *coire, colligi:* σύνταξιν ἐξ οὐ προχείρων συνιοῦσαν ἀναγνωσμάτων **2** 1

συνιστάναι, 1. *consociare*, 'to band together,' where the object of the combination is hostile; συνέστησε πάντας ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον **17** 3.—PASS. *coire*, **17** 4; αἱ πόλεις συνίσταντο **23** 1; τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ συνίσταντο πάλιν **27** 1.—2. *consistere*, 'to be organised': τέχνας πρὸς ἐργασίαν συνισταμένας **1** 3.—*conflari:* τοῦ Φωκικοῦ πολέμου συνεστῶτος **12** 1

συνοικεῖν, *in matrimonio habere* c. dat. **15** 3

σύνορος[1, 3] = Attic ὅμορος, 'conterminous' **17** 4

σύνταγμα[2], *liber:* Ῥωμαικοῖς σ. **2** 2

σύνταξις[2], *liber* 2 1.—*communes copiae Graeciae* **17** 3. Cp. *Arist.* c. 21, 1 εἶναι δὲ σύνταξιν Ἑλληνικὴν μυρίας μὲν ἀσπίδας χιλίους δ' ἵππους

συντίθεσθαι (MED.): συντιθεμένων παρατυχεῖν **5** 2

συντόμως **30** 4

συντρίβεσθαι[2] (PASS.), *obteri:* τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συντριβέντων **24** 1; τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων συντριβέντων **28** 1

συνώνυμος[1]: ἐν τοῖς περὶ συνωνύμων **15** 3

συσχολάζειν[1] de tirone operam magistro dante: συνεσχολακέναι τῷ Πλάτωνι **5** 5. Cp. *Cic.* c. 4, 4 τῶν Ἀσιανῶν ῥητόρων Ξενοκλεῖ συνεσχόλασε

σφάλλεσθαι, 'to stagger' **29** 5

σχολάζειν[2, 4], *docere* **5** 4

σῶμα, *corpus* **4** 3; **6** 4; **7** 1, etc.—*vita* **20** 3

σωματικὰ[1] ἐλαττώματα **11** 1

σωτηρία **13** 4; **27** 4; σ. μνήμης **2** 1

T

ταινία **25** 4

τάξις (in acie) **20** 2; (in republica) **13** 1; ἐν δευτέρᾳ τινος τάξει τι ποιεῖσθαι **13** 4

ταπεινός, *vilis*, 'mean,' 'poor,' 'abject' (not 'lowly-minded'): τ. πατρίδος **1** 1; τ. πόλεσιν **1** 2; ταπεινὰ ἔπραττεν **24** 1; τ. καὶ ἀγεννὲς πλάσμα **11** 3

ταπεινῶς φέρειν **21** 2

ταραχαὶ Ἑλληνικαί **20** 4

τάχιστα w. participle **8** 1; **25** 3

τάχος[2] orationis **2** 3

τείνειν intrans. de via **26** 5

τεκμαίρεσθαι **19** 2; w. dat. **15** 3

τελεῖν, *solvere* **5** 4; **27** 6

τελευτή, *mors* **22** 1

τέλος, *tandem* **6** 4

τεταγμένα οὐ σιτεῖται πόλεμος **17** 3

τετρωμένην (τιτρώσκεσθαι) **19** 3

τέχνη, **1** 3; *ars histrionia* **28** 3.—'a system of rhetoric,' τὰς Ἰσοκράτους τ. **5** 5. Cp. Dion. *Ep.* 1 *ad Amm.* c. 10 p. 736 Reiske.

τεχνίτης **3** 3; δούλους τεχνίτας **4** 1

ΤΗΝΕΙ Doric form of ἐκεῖ **19** 3

τηρεῖν τὸ ἀξίωμα **22** 4

τιθασεύειν, *mansuefacere* **5** 3. —PASS. **17** 5

τίθεσθαι (MED.), *statuere, exis-*

timare 22 4; ἔξω λόγου τίθεμαι 14 2; παρ' οὐδὲν θέμενος, *nihili aestimans* 14 4.—*componere:* θέμενος τὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν 23 2.—PASS. *recenseri:* ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ τίθεσθαι 13 5.—παρωνύμιον ἐτέθη ('was given') 4 5

τιμᾶσθαι θανάτου, *auctorem esse iudicibus, ut mortem poenam dictitent alicui* 14 4

τιμή: μετὰ τιμῆς 3 3; θεῶν (subjective gen.) τιμῇ 30 4; ἀποδοὺς τιμήν 30 3; ταῖς ἄλλαις τιμαῖς 16 2

τίμημα damnationis 27 6

τίμησις 4 2

τοιόσδε: τι τοιόνδε 31 1

τοιοῦτος, ὁ, 2 3; 20 1

τοῖχοι (*parietes*) πήλινοι 11 6

τόνος, *contentio vocis* 11 3; 13 3

τορεία τῆς κύλικος 25 2

τραγῳδεῖν, *declamare* 21 2

τρανῶς[3], *perspicue* 15 3

τραυλότης[1] τῆς γλώττης 11 1

τραῦμα 18 2

τρέμειν[3] 29 5

τρέπειν τὴν διάνοιαν πρός τι 22 5; τ. τὸ παράδειγμα 27 4

τρίπους 29 3

τρόπος, *modus:* τόνδε τὸν τρόπον 28 1.—*mores, indoles:* ἀβέβαιον τῷ τ. 13 1; τ. πικρόν 4 5; 11 6.—PL. τοῖς τ. ὁμοιοτέρους 3 3

τρύβλιον, *patella* 23 4

τρυφερὰ ᾄσματα 4 4

τρυφῇ μαραίνεσθαι 6 4

τύχη τις δαιμόνιος 19 1; ἔκ τινος τ. 31 2; τῇ τ. καὶ τῇ φύσει 3 3; ἐπὶ τῇ τ. ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν 9 3

τυχηρός[2] 3 2

Υ

ὑπεκδῦναι τῆς πανηγύρεως 9 2

ὑπεξελθεῖν 28 2

ὑπέρ, A. w. Gen. 'in defence of,' 'in behalf of': 12 3; τὸν ὑ. τῶν ἀτελειῶν λόγον 13 4; ὑπέρ τινος λέγειν 27 3; τὸν ὑ. τοῦ σώματος ἀναρρῖψαι κίνδυνον 20 3; ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου μαχομένοις 23 4; δεήσεσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως ὑ. αὐτῶν 23 5.—with the gen. of the articular infinitive, 'with a view to': 7 3.—2. like περί, 'of,' 'concerning,' 'on the subject of' 8 1; 9 5; 12 4; 31 2

This use of ὑπέρ is common in late Greek Prose, but very rare indeed in earlier. It occurs once in Homer *Il.* VI 524 ὑπὲρ σέθεν αἴσχε' ἀκούω, and in Soph. *Oed. T.* 1444. In Inscriptions after B. C. 200 it is regularly found; see Meisterhans *Gramm.* 182, 50 ed. 2. In the Orators ὑπέρ and περί are used with no material difference of sense, *e.g.* Dem. *de f. l.* § 107 βουλευομένων ὑμῶν οὐ περὶ τοῦ εἰ ποιητέον εἰρήνην ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποίαν τινά, Hyperid. 'Επιτ. p. 30, 12 ἠναγκάζοντο τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν οἱ δικασταὶ οὐ περὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀδικήματος, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰσχύνης τοῦ δήμου.

B. w. Acc. *supra:* ὑ. τὴν πόλιν 10 1

ὑπεσχημένον (ὑπισχνεῖσθαι) 14 4

ὑπηρετικά (*sc.* πλοῖα) 29 1

ὕπνος: κατὰ τοὺς ὕ. 29 2

ὑπό w. Gen. of Agency or Cause: 1. with passive verbs: (*a*) of the person 4 3; 5 3; 16 1; 18 1, 4; 20 1, 3; 27 5; 30 4.—(*b*) of the thing 12 3; 25 5; ὑπὸ φαρμάκου ἐξαρπαγῆναι 30 4; 19 2. 2. with middle verbs 13 2.—with quasi-passive verbs: ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπέθανε 14 4; ἐνθουσιῶντας ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου 18 3; πεσόντος ὑφ' ἑτέρου 22 3; 31 3; τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν...ὑπὸ τῶν παιδῶν λαβεῖν 4 3; ὑπό του λάβοι πληγάς 11 2.—3. *prae, propter,* 'by reason of': προδίδωσιν ὑπ' ἀτολμίας ἑαυτόν 6 4

ὑποβάλλεσθαι (MED.) 2 1

ὑπόθεσις, *argumentum* orationis, carminis: 8 1; 12 3; 13 5; 22 4; 31 3

δίκην 27 6.—*gratia*: χάριν ἔχειν πρός τινα 7 1.—χάριν adv. *propter* 26 3.—*grati animi testificatio* 18 3

χειροῦσθαι (MED.), *potestati suae subicere*, *domare* 5 3. Cp. Plat. *Soph.* 219 C τὰ μὲν χειροῦται λόγοις καὶ πράξεσι

χέρσος[3]: ἐν χέρσῳ 3 2

χλευάζειν, *cavillari*: 8 3; 25 5

χλωρὰ χρώματα 22 5

χορηγία[2], *apparatus* 29 2

χρεία, 'occasion,' 'matter in hand': ἐπὶ τὴν χ. 5 4; χρειῶν[2] πολιτικῶν 2 2. Cp. *Mar.* c. 32, 1 πολιτικαῖς χρείαις ἄλλων λειπόμενος, *Per.* c. 7, 4 τὰς μεγάλας χ.; c. 8, 3 μηδὲ ῥῆμα μηδὲν ἐκπεσεῖν ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην χρείαν ἀνάρμοστον

χρηματικὴ[1] ζημία 27 6

χρῆσθαι, *uti*: δρόμοις μακροῖς 6 2; λόγοις κουφίζουσι 22 5; δεινότητι χρώμενος 8 2; ἐχρῆτο τῷ γελοίῳ 11 4; χρώμενον τῷ ἀντιθέτῳ 9 5; τῇ φύσει χρώμενον 10 1; ἐχρῶντο τοῖς λογισμοῖς 20 1; ᾧ (λόγῳ) χρησάμενος 15 1.—2. 'to treat so and so': ἡμέρως χρησαμένῳ αὐτοῖς 22 3.—c. dupl. dat. ἐμοὶ συμβούλῳ χρήσεσθε 14 3; ἐχρήσατο Ἰσαίῳ ὑφηγητῇ 5 4

χρησμός: χ. (παλαιός) 19 1; 21 3; χρησμοῖς προσέχειν 20 1

χρυσίδιον[2] (ῐ), 'a small sum of money' 31 1

χρυσίῳ ἐπιβατὸς γεγονώς 14 2

χρώματα χλωρὰ καὶ μαλακά 22 5

χώρας εὐπορεῖν 5 2

χωρίς, 'apart from,' 'besides' 22 5

Ψ

ψηφίζεσθαι κάθοδον 27 4; ψ. στεφανοῦν 22 1

ψήφισμα εἰσφέρειν 26 1; 27 4; τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ψ. 20 3

ψῆφος, *lapillus*: 11 1.—*calculus*: οὐ προήκαντο (αὐτοῖς) τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ ψ. 24 2; τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψ. 24 2

ψυχή, *anima*: ἀφῆκε τὴν ψ. 29 5.—*animus*: ψ. ἀνδρώδης 22 4; ψ. φιλόπονος 1 3; ψ. φιλόστοργος 22 2

Ω

ὠμότης 32 4

ὥρα, *aetas*: τὰ τῆς ὥρας 2 3

ὡς before Participles, belonging to the Subject 22 1; 29 3; belonging to the Object 1 1; 13 4; 20 1; 29 1, 4; 31 3.—with Fut. partic. denoting purpose belonging to the Subject 23 1; ὡς ἂν ἐσόμενος 5 3.—2. Declarative in objective sense 'how that' 26 2; 30 2.—3. Consecutive, like ὥστε 13 5.—4. Temporal, *postquam*: 6 1; 14 3; 26 3; 31 2

ὥσπερ, *ut*: 18 1; 22 5; 29 3.—with οὕτω, in correlative clause 23 4.—*velut*, 'as for example' 3 3.—w. participle 9 3.—*tamquam*: 9 5; 13 3; 22 3; 25 4

ὥστε w. acc. and infin. 18 3; 24 2 (μή); 26 4.—at the beginning of a sentence to mark a strong conclusion, *itaque*, *ergo* 3 3

ὠφελῆσθαι πλεῖστον εἰς τοὺς λόγους 5 5

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